

Routes to tour in Germany

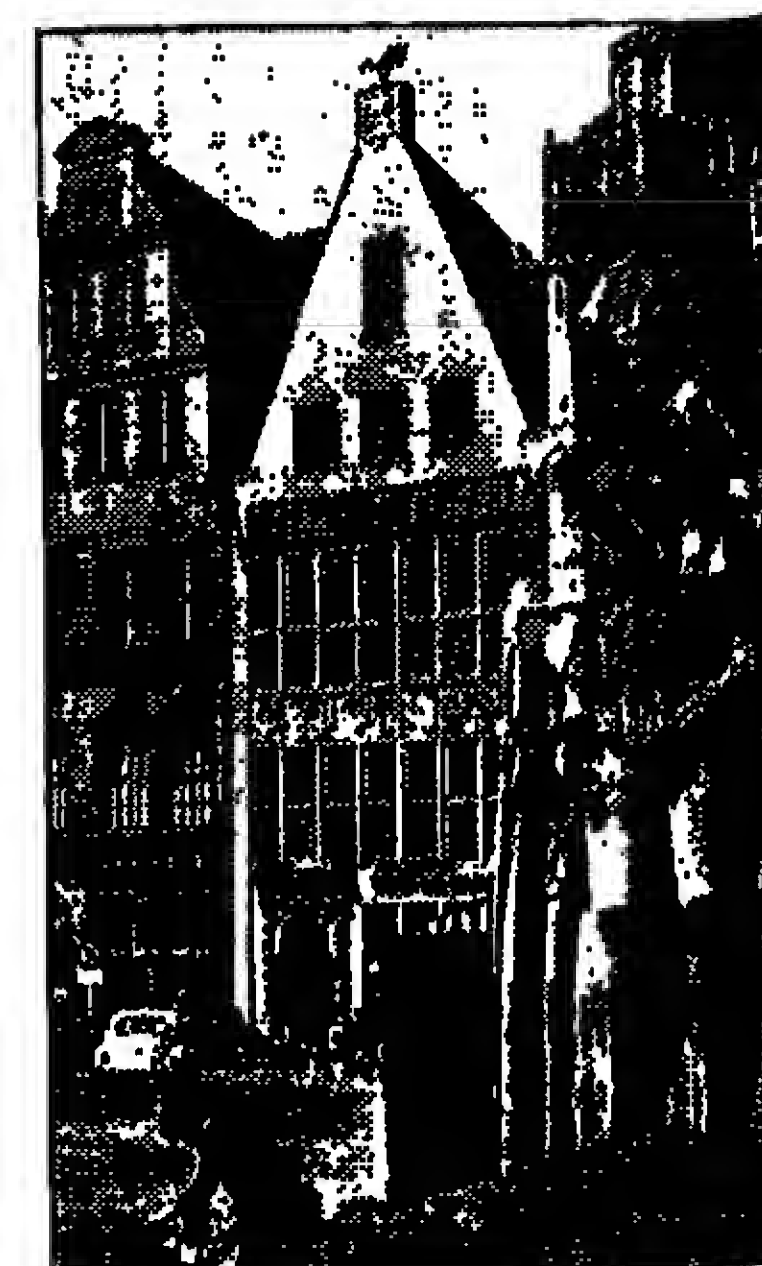
The Green Coast Route

German roads will get you there – wherever people live and there are sights worth seeing. Old churches or half-timbered houses, changing landscapes or townships. There are just too many impressions, so many people find it hard to see at a glance what would suit their personal taste. Which is why we in Germany have laid out well-marked tourist routes concentrating on a special feature. Take the coast. We

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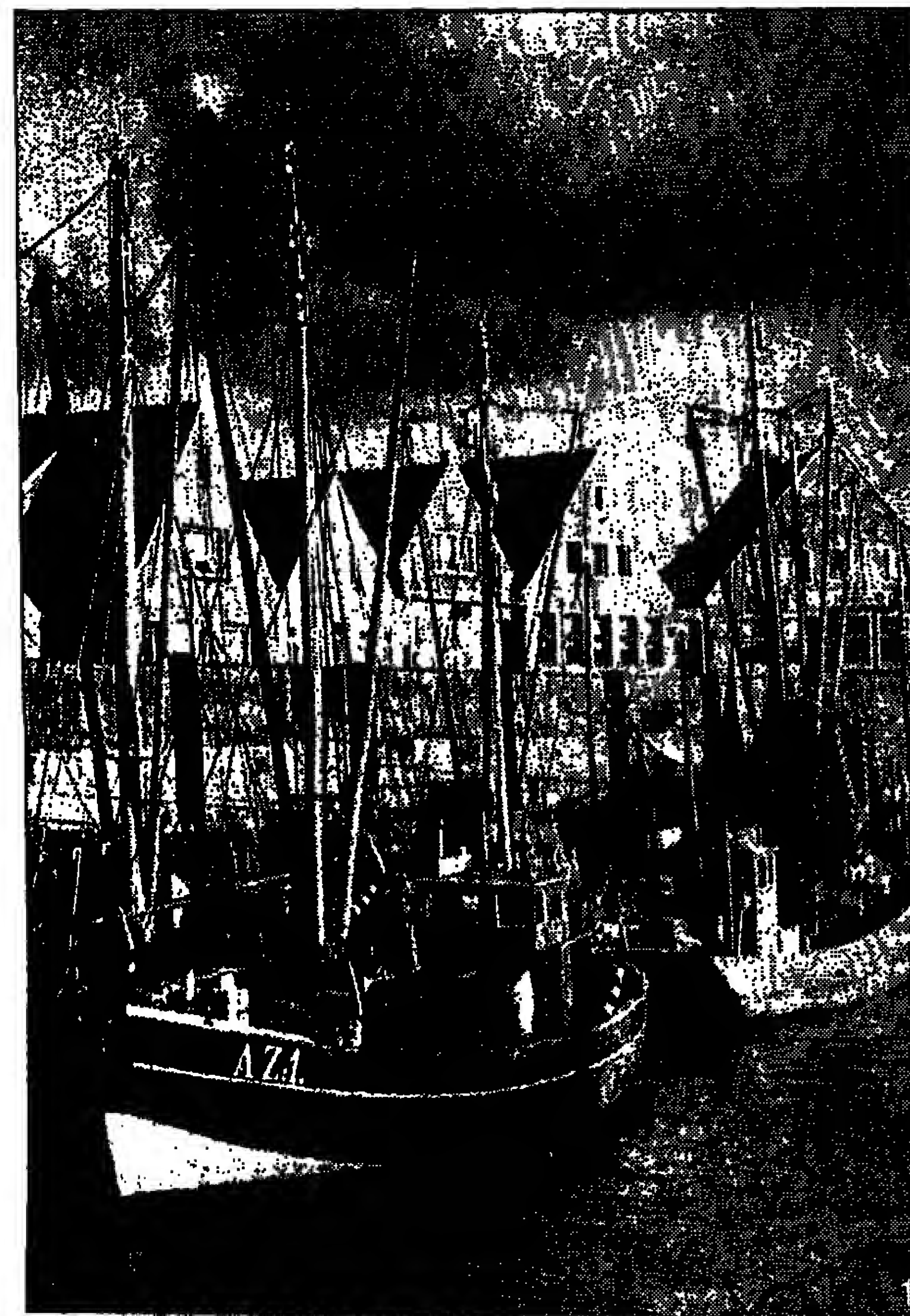
the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg with their art galleries, theatres and shopping streets.

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- 1 Neuhaarlingersiel
- 2 A Frisian farmhouse in the Altes Land
- 3 Bremen
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Nato missiles: a tricky task in Washington

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg are not to be envied: their mission in Washington was a tricky one.

In advance of the Nato summit their task was to clear the political minefield that had accumulated in the course of the missile modernisation debate, a minefield that has proved dynamic for the North Atlantic pact.

The need for confidence-building measures of this kind within Nato is characteristic of the state transatlantic ties are in at present.

The compromise formula they took with them, terms agreed by the Bonn coalition after months of debate, is unlikely to solve Bonn's problems with the United States.

In the form in which it was made public over the weekend in which the storm broke it seems equally unlikely to straighten out the intricacies of the course pursued by the German government.

A compromise document penned by Herr Genscher, a master of diplomatic ambiguity, it is simply too vague to be

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They're jumbo-jet pilots and tanker skippers, but only on Sundays

The next edition of
THE GERMAN TRIBUNE
will be on 14 May.

straightforward. It sounds magnificent but is way open to interpretation, which is probably just what the Foreign Minister wanted.

An experienced tactician, he is keen to keep as many options as possible open. He doesn't want to commit Bonn to stationing new short-range missiles. In other words, he is, anxious not to clearly rule out the zero solution. That, in the final analysis, is precisely what America and Britain do want.

No matter how fine and diplomatic the choice of words, befogging issues rather

than shedding light on them, skilfully skirting differences of opinion, protestations of transatlantic unity cannot conceal the fact that these differences exist.

The mere existence of political differences of opinion within the North Atlantic pact is less alarming or confusing than suspicions, harboured in Washington, London and elsewhere, that the Germans are no longer as clearly and firmly committed to Nato and the West as they used to be.

There are also fears that the Kohl government is not guided by long-term security policy factors but by short-term, electoral considerations which, in their turn, are influenced by emotions and opinion poll findings.

This impression is enhanced by the ridiculous way in which Bonn has backtracked on withholding tax and the conscription period.

Yet Herr Genscher's approach to the missile modernisation debate cannot be derided as populist or more vote-catching. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the stationing of new nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany would be most unpopular.

One can well understand that the Bonn government is keen to avoid missile modernisation as an issue in next year's general election campaign.

There seem to be good reasons for showing greater flexibility on arms and disarmament and for calling the logic of the arms process into question.

And as Nato's 88 Lance missiles stationed in Germany face 1,650 short-

As expected, the question of American nuclear shorter-range missiles in Europe was the key item on the agenda of the conference of Nato Defence Ministers in Brussels.

The issue is the subject of controversial discussion between Bonn and Washington.

The new US Secretary of Defence, Dick Cheney, expressed his unambiguous support for the modernisation of the nuclear missiles in this category, whereas Bonn would like to defer its decision on "improvement" until 1991/92.

This suggests a clear disagreement. But a second glance reveals that things are not as bad as they may initially seem.

The intransigence of the new head of the Pentagon is understandable, since the United States is unwilling to back down from its fundamental stance that negotiations should only then begin with the Warsaw Pact on nuclear short-range systems up to a range of 600 kilometres after the Vienna conference on conventional disarmament has been concluded.

This stance is based on the concept, influenced by legitimate security inter-



Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) and Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg arrive at the State Department in Washington. (Photo: dpa)

range missiles based in Warsaw Pact countries the West surely has good reason to negotiate joint low missile ceilings as soon as possible.

It would also seem logical to link the short-range missile debate with the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction.

Nato has called for the modernisation of short-range missiles as a counterweight to the Warsaw Pact's overwhelming conventional superiority.

If the Vienna talks were to make promising headway and results were to seem likely by 1992, including realistic prospects of substantial troop cuts by the East bloc and, with them, of greater conventional stability, security might be guaranteed by fewer nuclear weapons.

Nato ought not to ignore this possibility of the world looking different in four years' time; it would do better to hear this opportunity in mind by forgoing automatic

missile modernisation moves and providing for intermediate steps.

Nato cannot, however, afford to disarm "blindly," leaving itself with arms and equipment that are outdated and ineffective. Disarmament must be a calculable process of giving and taking that is kept going by a deliberate process of political will power.

Bonn must state clearly in Washington and in Brussels what it wants and what is in keeping with German security interests – even if it thereby risks a clash with the prevailing Anglo-American duo.

The trip to Washington by Herr Genscher and Herr Stoltenberg must be hoped to have got the dialogue going.

Biding time, especially when one is caught without a leg to stand on, is not the way to pursue a reliable security and alliance policy. It is not the way to win elections either.

Thomas Guck
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 April 1989)

Modernisation issue on sensitive ground

ests, of initially pulling level with the clearly superior Soviet Union in this sector by modernising one's own short-range nuclear systems and then reaching new disarmament agreements with the East on a parity basis.

Bonn, on the other hand, would like to enter into negotiations with the Warsaw Pact with the aim of fixing ceiling thresholds at a low level for short-range missiles long before the Vienna negotiations come to an end.

The Bonn government is convinced that the negotiations on short-range weapons could be influenced by the Vienna conference.

It feels that the decision whether and to what extent modernised Lance missiles should be stationed in America's European partner countries should be made dependent on the interim results

of the Vienna talks expected in 1991/92.

In all probability Bonn will be able to push through its intention at Nato level of waiting until 1991/92 before taking a decision on the modernisation and deployment of nuclear short-range weapons.

As the existing Lance missiles will still provide adequate nuclear protection until 1994/95 the postponement is not associated with any great risks.

What is more, no Nato partner can prevent the United States from continuing the modernisation of short-range weapons in the research and production sector.

The USA's flexible position shows consideration for the domestic policy problems facing the Bonn coalition, which cannot afford a "missiles election campaign" in 1990.

The course pursued by George Bush, however, leads him on to sensitive ground, since Britain uncompromisingly favours modernisation and deployment. Admittedly, Britain is in a much different position than Bonn. A look at the map shows that short-range missiles can primarily reach the territory on both sides of the inner-German border.

Bodo Schulte
(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 20 April 1989)

■ INTERNATIONAL

Paradoxes clouding the view to the east in an age of transition

George Bush has redeemed Ronald Reagan's pledge to Poland. The legalisation of Solidarity was immediately followed by a generous offer of US assistance.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, looking a lot better (he has been ill) calls for a greater German role in the dialogue with the galloping forces of evolution in Eastern Europe.

The world is more interested at the moment, however, in whether Chancellor Kohl can be toppled if the CDU does badly in European elections in June.

Washington's conditions for assistance, whether for Poland, Hungary or any other country in a state of change, are common knowledge: aid is intended to strengthen democracy, not the struggling *Nomenklatura*.

The West agrees that the aim cannot be to manoeuvre the protagonists of perestroika into an uncontrollable position. On the contrary, progress along the road towards the "New Thinking" must be encouraged.

The scenario is already full of paradoxes. For decades the Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Western Europeans as a whole orientated their political priorities to the West.

They knew very little about the other half of Europe; understandably, people travelled to Mallorca rather than to Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).

At the same time, the well-founded post-war anti-Communism served as a convenient resting-place for many politicians, even after Alexander Dubcek (1968) and Lech Walesa (1980) had raised their voices in protest.

The East bloc seemed to confirm the stereotyped image by invading Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

After Gorbachev started to apply Lenin's slogan "Three steps forward, two steps back" to perestroika instead of to the extension of the Soviet empire the West drifted, much to the dismay of opposition groups in Eastern Europe, into a disarmament euphoria.

The most convenient part of change is consumed instead of considering which overall political concept could lend permanence to this change in view of the tectonic tremors between Warsaw and Budapest.

A further paradoxical aspect relates to the consequences of constantly thinking in terms of D-marks and dollars in view of a movement which, although it also draws its strength from the manifestations of economic decline, indeed mass impoverishment, is primarily rooted in intellectual and political conflict with decades of dictatorship.

The materialistic West strews flowers for the Polish Church and is delighted by the outcries of writers and by the courage of Soviet artists.

The vernissage mentality of the affluent West, however, did not expect this spirit of protest to lead to concrete political transformation.

Whenever the development now taking place was predicted, as by the Solidarity founders-to-be after 1970, this was dismissed as an "unrealistic" message to equally unrealistic groups in the West.

There is a parallel: only two years ago leading advocates of the left-wing Ger-



man Ostpolitik claimed that Lech Walesa was a man with no future.

The opportunities of change in Eastern Europe have the same quality as a rocket waiting to be launched into orbit. If the system fails to lift off the launching pad within a certain time there is often a very long wait before the next attempt can be made.

So how could things develop? The West should act in such a way (Henry Kissinger's view) that Moscow does not lose its head because of the changed situation on its western flank, but retains the courage to effect reforms.

A CDU politician, the late Alois Merles, who knew how to combine principles with flexibility, believed that the day would soon come on which the Soviets would redefine their security interests.

During a conference at Hambach Castle (Palatinate) Hans-Peter Schwarz added the idea of making it easier for the states beyond the once impenetrable Iron Curtain, including East Germany, to develop into a zone of post-Communist societies.

Both military blocs should make do with the role of disciplined onlookers.

As opposed to the 1946/1948 situation the Soviet Union could tolerate a Marshall Plan this time out of self-interest, and even participate in it via trilateral joint ventures in Eastern Europe.

The Federal Republic of Germany would then soon assume a key role if it is willing to accept it.

Horst Teltschik, Chancellor Kohl's foreign policy adviser, has been insisting for months, especially in smaller dis-

cussion circles, that Bonn is better able to build political bridges than any other country in Western Europe.

Bonn could support support Poland and Hungary on their way to the Council of Europe.

Although money is a major factor these countries lack more than just essential goods. Cultural ties must be extended considerably, greater freedom of scientific activity is needed, and the first democratic parties are seeking advice.

If Bonn has this historical role and could summon up this capacity what prevents the Chancellor or the parties from acting accordingly?

Unimaginativeness and unproductive zealotness, together with the growing fear of the advocates of "Old Thinking" in elections.

Admittedly, the historical stimuli of current developments affords the German Question a new significance.

However, all those who would already like to see this issue placed on the agenda at all costs should read a sentence written by Eugen Lemberg, who was expelled from Prague in 1950, concluding his book on the history of nationalism:

"A risk of nationalism does exist. Not, however, where most people believe when they complain about nationalism. It lies in the fact that, robbed of its basis, the idea of building a significant epoch becomes no more than a resentment and that only the gesture of the ethical content of the nationalism which shaped European peoples remains, deceptive and impeding new designs."

We live in an age of transition and of such designs.

The European Community is moving unstopably towards a "union", regardless of how this is defined.

In the atomic and computer age the struggle for markets and power no longer

er takes place in the conceptual canyons of territorial possession or military leaders with cereal stockpiles.

The younger generation views the damaged ozone layer as a greater danger than war in Central Europe.

For a long time now experts have regarded war as the most improbable of all scenarios.

Up to now the big people's parties in the Federal Republic of Germany have failed to face up to the new challenge.

The Social Democrats kept clinging for too long to the theory that a brand humane Socialism would emerge in Eastern Europe.

Now, however, the forces of opposition have had more than enough brands of socialism.

At best they are looking for a synthesis of the ideas forwarded by Hitler, Schmidt and Ludwig Erhard.

The conservative union for its part retarded by the burden of its *Deutschlandspolitik*.

It is worried about possible losses the Republicans, realising at the same time that its position in the European Community will be weakened if a right-wing extremists are elected into the European Parliament on 18 June. It has no option but to tread warily step by step.

The prospects for visits to Warsaw Chancellor Kohl and by Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker are favourable: both sides are cooperative.

The justified interests of the Germans still living in Germany can now be guarded.

The West as a whole will be interested in resolving the debt problem.

This will be followed by period experience with the further development in the central part of Eastern Europe developments which are also influenced by the CSE process.

The approach must be marked by clever economic programme on a large scale than up to now.

This could lead to a process of liberalisation which even the ossified GDR could not prevent.

Jürgen Wahl

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 21 April 1989)

Bonn discusses how to help Polish economy

cluded. He had also suggested holding a European Community summit meeting to discuss a joint aid programme.

Michaela Geiger, foreign policy spokeswoman for the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, and FDP leader Count Lambsdorff said aid to Poland ought to be tied to specific, soundly costed and promising projects.

Social Democratic spokesman Norbert Wleczorek said Poland needed a thorough rescheduling of its \$40bn in sovereign debts if it was to regain economic stability.

Bonn's independent contribution ought, the SPD feels, to consist of converting the DM1bn "jumbo" loan into a zloty-based development fund, of a higher contribution toward World Bank aid measures, of raising the export credit guarantee line, of boosting German direct investment, of encouraging commercial banks to boost their commitments and of increasing technological assistance and educational promotion.

All parties said the process of reform in Poland was a significant step forward,

especially now it had fulfilled Western demands for a national dialogue and for legalisation of the Solidarity trade union.

FDP spokeswoman Hildegard Hamm-Brücher hoped Chancellor Kohl might visit Poland before the summer recess. She felt it would be appropriate to make any such recommendation to Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker.

This was an indirect reference to his position to the idea of timing a visit to Poland by the head of state to coincide with 1 September, the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

Wahl

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 21 April 1989)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Incoming Defence Minister faces tough decisions

For the first time in its history, the supreme command of the Bundeswehr has changed hands twice within a year.

The replacement of Defence Minister Rupert Scholz with Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is not just an exchange of individuals.

Scholz's dismissal represents the premature end of an attempt to give the armed forces a new and primarily politically founded acceptability.

Growing doubts about the effectiveness and need for military deterrence make this essential.

Chancellor Kohl showed his political instinct when he selected Scholz, a constitutional-law expert, for the task.

His qualification was based on the realisation that public approval of the armed forces can only be as great as the approval of the tasks they serve rather than on his military expertise.

Scholz set out to reestablish a social consensus in this field. He gave careful consideration to foreign and security policy — something which the public hardly noticed.

It associated Scholz with aspects which aroused suspicion and which was rejected by a majority: the modernisation of the Lance nuclear missiles, the European Fighter Aircraft (EFA), low-level flying, and the extension of military service.

The Rammstein air-show tragedy and the Rendsburg crash also went on to the debit side of Scholz's public image.

The fact that he was officially responsible for the projects and decisions in his capacity as Defence Minister but that he did not bear personal responsibility did not seem to matter.

Scholz accepted the resultant burden in a disciplined manner. He felt this was his duty and relied on the political perspective agreed on with Chancellor Kohl.

Although Scholz may be disappointed at his dismissal there is some consolation: he no longer needs to account for the deferment of the extension of military service.

This decision is good news for the conscripts affected; for the government, however, it is a case of depressing backtracking.

The resolution to extend military service was adopted five years ago.

Three years ago the corresponding Act was amended in the Bundestag on the grounds that such important changes must be regulated on a long-term basis.

It looks as if the last-minute reversal of this decision will be Stoltenberg's first major decision as Defence Minister.

He will be unable to reject it, since he may otherwise discover what it can mean for a Defence Minister when "party colleagues" suddenly act as if he and not they are responsible for the unpopular Act.

Stoltenberg will be confronted by a number of other unpleasant tasks.

He will probably be told by the staff of his new Ministry — led by the former head of his budget department, state secretary Karl-Heinz Carl — that an army of 500,000 men cannot remain efficient with the money it receives from the government.

The desire of the CDU to win back the support of young voters and the

realisation of the sorry financial state of the Bundeswehr could produce a situation in which Stoltenberg becomes the first CDU Defence Minister forced to reduce the size of the Bundeswehr.

This could be "sold" as a move of compromise towards East bloc offers, as a signal of a will to disarm or at least as a gesture which would appeal to many voters the conservative union hopes to win over before the next general election in one-and-a-half years time.

The fact that the government would then be doing exactly what the Opposition has wanted to do for years but which it has so far rejected for understandable reasons would not really matter.

The most important reason is not the military superiority of the East, its military threat, but concern about the conclusions Nato allies may draw from such a move.

The Americans have been complaining for years that their share of alliance burdens is too great.

They call for a redistribution and are considering a reduction of their military presence.

The scaling down of the Bundeswehr would provide a concrete justification to start doing so.

This applies to the British, Belgians, Dutch and Canadians as well as to the Americans, to all partner countries which station Nato-integrated troop contingents on German soil.

A reduction or even withdrawal, however, would not only have military significance; it would be a disastrous political signal.

Stoltenberg takes on a difficult portfolio, in which nothing has become easier because of his appointment.

The circumstances of this ministerial reshuffle have intensified disappointment in the armed forces which has been noticeable for years: at the discrepancy between what the CDU and CSU promised the Bundeswehr during their years in Opposition and what they have actually achieved in government.

What is more, the impression has been gained that the Bundeswehr is basically no more than a manoeuvrable political factor for this government.

For the sake of the Bundeswehr — one can only wish the new Defence Minister all the very best.

Stoltenberg, however, will not only be confronted by the indifferent, to a certain extent disapproving attitude of a section of public opinion, but also by the scepticism of the troops themselves.

Only one of Stoltenberg's nine predecessors in the Defence Ministry was spared political difficulties: Helmut Schmidt.

One can only hope that Stoltenberg will be the second Defence Minister who can rightly make this claim.

Karl Fehleweyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 April 1989)



Former Defence Minister Rupert Scholz (right) with his successor, Gerhard Stoltenberg (centre) at parade in Bonn. At left is Commander in Chief, Admiral Dieter Weller.

Government heads for port to ride out the storm

When waves 15 metres high start breaking over the forecandle and the masts start snapping, captains head for calmer waters.

The chairmen of the three coalition parties in Bonn, with the backing of the respective parties, have agreed on a course correction. Part of that involves the Cabinet reshuffle.

The correction applies to the deferment of the extension of military service to 18 months (from 15 months) — a justified move in the light of new figures — the elimination of injustices in the application of the Foreigners' Pensions Act (which covers pensions payable to refugees other than those mentioned in the official Pensions Act), and the planned revocation of Section 34 of the Income Tax Act, a clause which annoys medium-sized undertakings and which has caused a spate of business sales.

The planned amendment to the withholding tax regulation is primarily aimed at appeasing the small investors.

A marked increase in the savers' tax-free interest amount is also being discussed.

The new Finance Minister, Theo Waigel, will have to decide which is the best way to achieve all this.

Of course, it does not flatter any government if it revises its own decisions just a few months after they have been taken. All it gets is ridicule from the Opposition.

Such backtracking also damages confidence in the far-sightedness, reliability and predictability of a government.

If the coalition intends invalidating the accusation of sheer election-orientated opportunism it will not only have to openly admit its "mistakes", but also convincingly justify the real need for the changes.

The suspicion cannot be dismissed that the coalition has shed ballast by removing an unpopular Defence Minister (Rupert Scholz) and an untalented government spokesman (Friedhelm Ost) as well as agreeing on a course correction so as to improve its position for the elections to the European Parliament and local government elections on 18 June.

These elections have been unjustly labelled as a test for the Chancellor and the coalition.

The opinion pollsters of the conser-

vative union (CDU and CSU), however, cannot hold out any hopes of a speedy comeback in voter popularity.

It looks as if the conservative union and its Chancellor can do very little to counteract its negative image in the media and the dissatisfaction of its own supporters.

Popularity polls show that the two government ministers who have carried out most reforms, Labour Minister Norbert Blum and Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (who has been moved to Defence in the Cabinet reshuffle), have suffered considerably.

The Chancellor himself, however, has also lost a great deal of support. The popularity of Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth shows that many people are looking for someone new on which to pin their hopes. Späth is a much better communicator.

The CDU executive committee has made a move towards creating a new image by recommending that the adjusted three-way catalytic converter should be made compulsory for all new cars after 1 October, 1991.

Whether the CDU-CSU would, if need be, also be willing to go it alone in this respect if the case is taken before the European Court of Justice is another story.

The CDU at any rate has realised that it must "fill" the field of environmental policy if it wishes to regain the support of above all younger voters.

The tough line taken on the imprisoned RAF terrorists (many of whom are on hunger strike), the amendment of the Foreigners' Pensions Act, the setting up of a workgroup to fight long-term unemployment, and the already agreed on but not yet announced changes in the policies on asylum and foreigners are all aimed at regaining the support of those who voted for the Republicans (or are thinking of voting for this party) just to demonstrate their protest at the government's activities.

If this strategy is retained this may not only lead to the loss of the FDP's role of kingmaker. The pendulum may not as expected swing back during the general election in December 1990.

The "protest voters" have demonstrated their dissatisfaction.

At the same time, however, they have given a political majority to parties which do quite the opposite of what they wanted.

Rainer Narendorf

(Handelsblätt, Düsseldorf, 18 April 1989)

■ GERMANY

Imprisoned terrorists on hunger strike in protest at 'isolation torture'

Members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) are on a hunger strike in protest at what they say is "isolation torture". At one stage, 33 were starving themselves in an effort to force the authorities to rehouse them in one prison. The majority have rejected offers to mix with other prisoners. One of the strikers, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, 37, gave up after 73 days. He is a double-murderer doing life.

Karl-Heinz Dellwo spent 73 days trying to starve himself to death before giving up. The fact that he and 32 others (most of whom are continuing their fast) took the action means that one of the aims of the group that calls itself RAF (for Red Army Faction) has been achieved: it has emerged from its insignificance, not because it is threatening the state, but because it is threatening to destroy itself.

Across the entire country the argument about the RAF rages despite the fact that the hard core is in jail and despite the fact that, outside prison, it is only a handful of sympathisers who keep up the mindless campaign of violence.

If the terrorists were only capable of thinking more objectively, it would have to occur to them that what sympathy they have emanates not from abstruse theories but from concern for the personal fate of people who neither know mercy nor want it. The affair has split the Germans. The majority take the side of the state: that the terrorists must pay for the crimes they have committed and blackmail demands must not be given in to.

The minority appeals for lenience for those who they say have been misled. The idea here is that policy should follow an old adage that it is the cleverer who relents.

Both stances are, in principle, correct. The constitutional state must not allow itself to be perverted by blackmail by criminals; and all criminals must be treated by similar yardsticks.

On the other side, no principle can be so holy that human lives can be sacrificed for it. Life is the highest of the qualities protected by the constitution.

The public has the luxury of discussing the principles involved; politicians, however, have a tough task — to find a way that meets a bit of both sides of the argument.

To find a way through the possibilities, the motives of the hunger strikers should be looked at closely. Ostensibly they are battling against being kept in isolation. The term itself is parroted by many well-meant people although it doesn't make much sense. All imprisonment is isolation.

Jails have no other purpose other than to isolate offenders in order to protect society against new offences and to remove the offender from his or her environment so that he or she has the chance of reflecting on the offending act and realise the errors of his or her ways.

So the point remaining to be debated is if these convicted terrorists are being kept in worse conditions of imprisonment than others who have committed similar offences.

Isolation in the sense that people spend years in solitary confinement

without contact with other people would indeed be a torture of the sort which would break prisoners.

But there can be no question of the state having been especially tough with the terrorists. Dellwo, certainly, is not a free man who can come and go as he wishes. But he can spend several hours a day talking with other prisoners and even meets with two of fellow RAF prisoners, Knut Folkerts and Lutz Tauber.

In his cell he has a radio, books and newspapers. He gets many visitors (not only lawyers) and regularly exchanges letters with the outside world. His letters are naturally checked, a precaution that is essential in view of past experience with the RAF.

The term "isolation in prison" then is a cock-and-bull story which finds a ready ear among the gullible. It serves only to resurrect the RAF.

It is understandable that prisoners want to be together with their accomplices. Who doesn't want to be with his own kind?

If the terrorists were brought together in a group, it would be easier for them to hatch plans, to straighten out the tortuous route to sympathetic lawyers. The group would be able more easily to exert discipline over each individual. It is certainly no coincidence that this new wave of hunger strikes began after individual members of the RAF forswore their former life and abandoned the organisation.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The state cannot be expected to support such reasons for bringing the terrorists together, to give in to the demands. There would be only justification for bringing them all together: if the RAF decided that its members would, together, seek a way out of the cul-de-sac they have run into and find a way of returning to society and observing its democratic rules.

But that is exactly what they do not want to do, as Dellwo explains in admirable clarity in a written interview in *Stern* (a weekly magazine). The terrorists want to continue with their old ways and the hunger strike is merely a new means of striking at society.

The chance the state has of using lenience as a way of making an impression on the terrorists and bringing about a reconciliation with society is zero. How little the readiness to compromise brings is something now that heads of Social Democrat-ruled *Länder* have to discover. (Their plan to reorganise the prisoners in several small groups was rejected).

The chances of winning over the active sympathisers outside the jails was not increased by a jot. Things have actually got worse. And the threats of more

strikes cannot be dismissed as blind view of the list of attacks on public establishments, violence at demonstrations and murder at Frankfurt airport.

Of all people, Walter Momper, the newly elected Social Democrat Mayor of West Berlin had to have RAF removed from his office; and, continuing right of abode to squat in Hamburg's Hafenstrasse and Hamburg's Sprengel Gelände have in no way ended the violence in those two places.

The state's task is, independently of criminal threats, carefully to check if anything has been done to avert the escalation of violence. This has to be done. The government appointed a secretary of state to negotiate a compromise. The offer was rejected. The state no uncompromisingly avenged shown in the amnesty for Angelika Speitel after the Bonn President, Richard von Weizsäcker had intervened.

Bonn and the *Länder* will be able to weather the hunger strike. They do not need to reproach themselves, even if the self-murder strategy is taken to its ultimate conclusion. The state can't take this sort of occurrence lightly. But it cannot stop someone using personal freedom to choose to destroy themselves.

CDU-ruled and SPD-ruled *Länder* have tried different approaches to the problem. It is now necessary for state institutions jointly to negotiate and to make it clear to the RAF that their final operation is futile.

Otherwise, a prisoner might die: the mistaken belief that he can beat the state to its knees if he holds out long enough. The announcement: Dellwo that he is breaking off his strike could be the first small step in the right direction.

Wolfgang Mauerberger
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April)

Life on the inside: lots of visitors and letter writing

"Isolation torture" is the term members of the Red Army Faction use to describe their prison conditions. Many of them are on hunger strike in protest. They are imprisoned in several jails around the country and want to be brought together in one. What are their prison conditions like?

To get an idea of what "isolation torture" really is like, a good source is Amnesty International's reports on dictatorships outside Europe.

Isolation torture was also used in Nazi concentration camps: incarceration in a windowless, totally dark bunker with only naked concrete walls and floor. The prisoner remained in the usually small dungeon for a specific time or until he starved to death.

One of the best-known cases in this RAF hunger strike is Karl-Heinz Dellwo, who is imprisoned in Celle. He has refused food since 1 February (he has now called the strike off). In 1977, Dellwo was given two life sentences by a Düsseldorf court for two murders. He has been in custody since 26 April, 1975. Two days before, he took part in an attack on the German embassy in Stockholm in which two diplomats were killed.

Each day, Dellwo is allowed to spend four hours and 45 minutes with two other RAF terrorists, Knut Folkerts and Lutz Tauber, according to information from the Federal Prosecutor, Kurt Rebmann: At weekends and on holidays, he can spend seven hours a day with them. Rebmann's office, together with other

institutions, is responsible for deciding conditions for RAF prisoners.

The three terrorists can either meet in one of their cells, or in a communal room. The communal room has a television set, a refrigerator, an oven and a gymnastic mat.

It also has a small library, with about 200 books. The prison library itself is also available. There is a table-tennis table.

Every day, Dellwo does an hour of exercising, together with Folkerts and Tauber, in the prison yard; then he has another hour with both these two and other prisoners. Last year, he was visited 94 times by people from outside the prison; 10 of those were from his lawyer. He received 307 letters and sent off 332.

Dellwo rejected an offer to be with other prisoners. The majority of other RAF prisoners also rejected the offer. The rejection is grounded on their vision of themselves as "political prisoners". But they are not behind bars because of their political views but because they have committed criminal offences: murder, attempted murder, extortion, hostage-taking and aggravated robbery.

Dellwo has the use of a radio, a record player, a typewriter and he has many books. He gets nine newspapers and magazines. He is allowed to shower and take a bath every day. He is allowed to wear his own clothes.

Similar conditions apply to Tauber.

He also took part in the Stockholm raid in 1975 when two diplomats were killed, and he also is serving two concurrent life sentences.

Folkerts is a treble murderer. In 1977, he shot Rebmann's predecessor Siegfried Buback, in the inner-city area of Karlsruhe. The shots, fired as he sat in a car, also killed Buback's driver and a justice department official.

The RAF has killed more than 30 people. Among the best known are the head of the Dresdner Bank, Jürgen Ponto; a senior judge, Günter Drecksmeier; industrialist Karl-Heinz Beckurts of Siemens; another industrialist, Ernst Zimmermann, of MTU; Bonn diplomat Gerold von Braunmühl; and employee Hans-Martin Schleyer.

Ponto and Schleyer were also murdered in 1977. Schleyer was kidnapped on 5 September and killed on 18 October.

It is because of Schleyer's murder that Christian Klar, Brigitta Mohnhaupt, Adelheid Schulz and Rolf Clemens Wagner are in prison. They are also on hunger strike. Like most of their fellow members, they were convicted of multiple murders. Klar was convicted of nine and another 11 of attempted murders. Mohnhaupt committed nine murders and made nine attempts.

The Schleyer case was the most tragic of all. He was taken in a bid to blackmail the freedom of the then most prominent members of the gang, Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe. That was also the reason for the hijacking of the Lufthansa plane at Mogadishu. When the hijacked plane was stormed and the imprisoned

Continued on page 16

■ PERSPECTIVE

Lessons to be drawn from a Hitler anniversary

Does the 100th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's birthday on 20 April warrant yet another review of his life, his purported successes, his deceptions, his crimes and the disaster he inflicted upon millions of people in the name of the German people?

Are there not perhaps more compelling anniversaries for such appraisals, which — insofar as they are carried out by Germans — will always be in part at least an acknowledgement of guilt?

The 50th anniversary in autumn this year of the outbreak of the Second World War on 1 September, 1939, is just one case in point.

We (the editors of this newspaper) have carefully considered the questions.

In view of their undeniable moral complexity and the continuity of history we feel that Germans have a commitment to constantly appraise the stigma of Nazi crimes and their perpetrators.

This does not mean perpetually donning the penitential robe or beating the chest in shame.

What is needed is not incessant self-accusation, but the realisation that all Germans must face up to a responsibility for the consequences of their history.

This must and can only be a permanent process, and we cannot choose the anniversaries of historical occasions at will.

Germans of all ages, and young Germans are no exception, must accept this fact.

The more the era of the rise and fall of Hitler sinks into oblivion the greater the effort needed to ensure that nothing is forgotten, reinterpreted, blurred or hushed up.

In his *Anmerkungen zu Hitler* (Remarks on Hitler) Sebastian Haffner warned: "Don't make the devil too small!"

Haffner also emphatically warned, however, against condemning the dictator for the wrong reasons.

Although we are all too well aware of

the bitter price paid for the experience of Nazi crimes this does not belittle the risk or temptation of underestimating Hitler as a complex phenomenon.

Most historians agree that before and after 1933 many Germans misinterpreted this man's background and objectives.

This leads to two conclusions: Those who backed Hitler before he seized power (including such great men of intellect as Theodor Heuss, who later admitted that "We all got dirty during this period.") helped him at least indirectly to become German Chancellor. And those who let themselves be blinded by Hitler's initial economic and foreign policy successes after the fateful date of 30 January, 1933, unintentionally contributed towards what then followed: war and holocaust.

In his Hitler biography Joachim Fest put forward the alarming theory that if Hitler had for some reason lost his life before the end of 1938 he would have probably been raised by most Germans at that time onto a pedestal of "one of the greatest statesmen."

Fest justifies his claim by referring to Hitler's indisputable early successes, which were generally regarded as positive achievements and which covered up his brutal aims and intentions.

Irrespective of whether or not such a claim — assuming that Hitler had died at the end of 1938 — might have been revised as a misjudgement at some later stage in history (Fest is convinced that it

would have been) one thing is certain: periodically, especially at the end of 1938 and the beginning of 1939, roughly 90 per cent of all Germans — and they were by no means all active Nazis — took a positive view of their *Führer*.

Most of them were unwilling or unable to realise that Hitler's achievements served the objectives of paving the way for war and exterminating the Jews right from the very start. They were guilty of a fatal misjudgement.

This approach to the problem is in no way an attempt at exculpation. On the contrary, even those who do not realise a danger can still make themselves guilty due to the consequences!

Why is there a risk today of misapprehending the complex of the Hitler era? To answer this we must again turn our attention to the 1920s and 1930s.

In the wake of the lost First World War and all its social, political and economic implications the situation in the German Reich was an open invitation for demagogues cast in the Hitler mould.

Certain national characteristics and traditional German longings provided a welcome breeding-ground for the seeds of Hitler's ideas.

A kind of interaction developed in the form of a symbiosis between the seducer and the seduced. This gave Hitler the energy he needed for his deeds.

Hitler was only able to begin his course of destructive action and pursue it to the bitter end because this constellation of specific conditions existed at this specific point in history.

Certain developments in the more recent history of the Federal Republic of Germany, both in the fields of party politics as well as intellectual ideas (for example, one of the fronts in the historians' dispute, have led to growing fears that the part of Germany's historical calamity could either be forgotten or reconstructed.

To reduce the Nazi period and its atrocities to the individual Hitler would be a cardinal error.

Hitler was only able to carry out his criminal policies to the extent he did thanks to the direct and indirect support of millions of helpers.

Without this power base in the masses he would have remained the outsider he originally was.

The prevalence of the opinion today that a "new Hitler" would stand no chance — after all, the period of atrocities is a permanent deterrence — is rooted in the same cardinal error.

Of course, history never repeats itself in such an obvious way.

There are also political demagogues today, however, who appeal to the same instincts as Hitler in Nazi Germany.

If they are successful this would mean that there is still — or once again — a breeding-ground in which the ideas which many thought were overcome once and for all flourish.

We would again be entangled in what writer Ralph Giordano called the *zweite Schuld* (second guilt).

Only the constant reappraisal of the causes and consequences of the Nazi era can provide an adequate safeguard against a repetition of history in a new guise.

We view this commitment as reason enough to take a renewed look at the history of Adolf Hitler on the occasion of his one-hundredth birthday.

Dieterich Ide
(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 April 1989)

Editor says why centenary was ignored

The author, Klaus Bresser, is the editor-in-chief of the *Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* national television network.

Why commemorate a criminal on — of all days — his birthday?

The 40th anniversary of the 1938 *Pogromnacht* in November last year was a more befitting occasion to recall Adolf Hitler, racist madness and persecution.

And there is another opportunity this year to show on television what this man did to Europe — the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland on 1 September, 1939.

To present Hitler's personal history is not enough. It is more important to outline the reasons for his rise to power, the incomparability of his atrocities, and the consequences of crime and war. This can be more clearly conveyed on days on which we commemorate the victims than on the day on which the chief perpetrator was born.

It would be impossible to prevent misunderstandings; particularly at a time when right-wing extremist parties are again being elected into parliaments we must reckon with the possibility that some people will celebrate this birthday.

Television must avoid being suspected of providing the programme for the occasion.

Pictures can be misused, no matter how critically our commentators may be.

A more detailed documentation on Hitler himself would mainly consist of documentary films, of pictures directed by the Nazi propaganda apparatus.

Even Joachim Fest's film on Hitler was accused of by and large showing the Third Reich the way its leaders wanted it to be shown.

Critics claimed that the film almost bathed in mass orgies of cultic self-presentation and created a myth instead of being instructional.

Although they may be exaggerated such objections cannot be dismissed altogether.

Television would find it particularly difficult on the "Führer's birthday" to counteract the vividness, indeed fascination, of these cleverly stage-managed pictures.

It would be wrong, of course, to make Adolf Hitler taboo. Television must also consider his character, origins and background.

We must ask ourselves again and again how he managed to win over Germans for his political goals and how he set up his tyranny.

In doing so we must make sure that this concentration on Hitler as a personality is not misunderstood as an attempt to shift the blame for the crimes on Hitler alone.

Our decision not to screen a special programme commemorating Hitler's 100th birthday, on 20 April, 1989, but to describe the dictator's deeds in programmes on the *Reichskristallnacht*, this year, in a two-part documentation entitled *Die Saat des Krieges* (The Seeds of War) instead, is also a token of respect for the victims.

A detailed presentation of Hitler on his birthday of all days would be a new act of violence against them.

Klaus Bresser
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 April 1989)

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■ FINANCE

Big Japanese banks, wallowing in cash, turn their eyes towards Europe

The names of the biggest Japanese banks are not that well known in Europe. But they soon might be. They are big, they are getting bigger, and they have lots of cash that needs to be put somewhere — there just isn't enough borrowing capacity any more in Japan. Gerd Zitzelsberger reports from Tokyo for the Munich daily, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Is another wave from Japan about to engulf the world? It is 10 years since Japanese firms stormed the market places of the world with cheap but reliable motor vehicles, television sets, video recorders, quartz watches and cameras. The result is known: a trade balance surplus that makes oil sheiks envious.

Now some observers groan that the same thing is about to happen in the more sensitive areas of banking and financial services. Japanese banks are, in fact, hunting in a pack at the top of the league of the world's biggest financial institutions. History seldom repeats itself without some change. But it is fairly clear that these unknown giants from the Far East will soon indeed play a much greater role in Europe.

A New York congressman, Charles Schumer describes the spectre like this: "We've lost the car and the steel to the Japanese. Now we're losing financial services."

American publicist Daniel Burstein is little less dramatic in his book, which will soon be available in Germany that the trade war has been won by Japan in every way. "Now the financial war is coming to the boil."

The former Brussels Commissioner for external relations and trade policy, Willy de Clercq, said: "The Japanese have decided to make their next target the conquering of the financial services area. It is time that we deployed our defences." He wrote that in a foreword to a new publication which warns of "Japan's attack on world finance."

German newspaper readers have less grand images of the larger Japanese banks in their heads. The last time was in connection with the troubled co op AG (a trade-union owned retail group). Among the biggest creditors are foreign banks — at the head of them, the number one of the Japanese institutions, the Dai-ichi Kangyo bank which, together with the other big ones down to the No.5, Sanwa bank, represent everything that is anything in Tokyo.

Although no other country has developed its banking business in Germany so much as Japan, the Japanese share of German business amounts to only between 1 and 2 per cent. They remain a relatively unknown force because they have few private customers. The biggest part of their business comes from Japanese firms operating in Germany.

The number 3 bank in Japan, Fuji, has a toehold in local business through an affiliated company, Heller Factorising Bank. Toyota also relies on a subsidiary to finance car sales; and the Munich branch of Dai-ichi Kangyo now does most of its business with German firms.

In Tokyo, the biggest financial institutions leave little doubt that they are looking hard at Europe. One young manager of a big name predicted in a private conversation that footholds in the EEC would be "considerably developed" before 1992.

Michio Ueno is general manager of Fuji bank, the number 3 in Japan. He can see the day when his bank emerges in Europe under a totally different, European, name.

Daiwa Securities, which is the second biggest securities firm in both Japan and the world, has the aim of climbing into private business in Europe. Tetsuo Yoshino, a director responsible for this side of the business, thinks that taking over an established broker business would present too many problems. Instead, Daiwa would follow what today is the predominant strategy in Tokyo: going for joint ventures with a partner in the target nation.

A reason for the growing interest in Europe is mentioned in every conversation: the internal European market scheduled to take effect at the end of 1992.

There are great fears that Europe will become an economic fortress. So they want to get a foot placed in the old

Europe before the drawbridge is raised.

There is no shortage of money for the effort. It is reported, for example, that Fuji paid 600 million dollars to take over and reconstruct the American Heller group.

Japanese bankers are now looking at the cash they have available and, at the same time, looking at the price levels of shares on the German exchanges, and thinks a Bavarian banker in Tokyo, are thinking that they could well take a hefty slice of the action in a German bank.

In the international banking business, the Japanese institutions are now beginning to turn their by far biggest wheel: international credit on their books is worth 1,600 billion American dollars (in the middle of last year), more than twice as much as American institutes and almost five times as much as German banks.

In terms of total capital, Japanese banks occupy the first 10 places on the world-ranking list. Then comes the first non-Japanese bank, Deutsche Bank AG. Other statistics show the dominance of Japanese banks: whereas Dai-ichi Kangyo has 275 billion dollars on its books, Deutsche has a mere 155 billion.

The seven most important industrialised nations, the USA, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Canada, have let the foreign exchange markets know that they do not want the dollar to rise.

For this reason they have renewed their readiness to work together on foreign currency markets. This means they have decided to sell dollars if the exchange rate rises too steeply.

Since the autumn meeting of the IMF in Berlin the dollar has put on ten per cent in value, primarily because there is still considerable demand for dollars due to high dollar interest rates.

A high dollar affects the competitiveness of the US on export markets and makes it more difficult to bring down the huge American trade deficit.

It also makes it difficult for countries such as the Federal Republic to deal with inflation if the Deutschmark gets weaker.

Furthermore high interest rates place fresh burdens on debtor developing countries.

The aim must be to reduce interest rates. This can only happen when money policies are free to battle against inflation.

Price stability can then not be assured solely by means of money supply and interest rates.

The reins on money policies can be slackened, if finance policy is used as an additional weapon for fighting inflation.

In concrete terms that means cutting back demand by cutting deficits in the budget.

That would have the salutary side-effect of dampening down import demand, so that countries with high trade deficits would be making a contribution to the restoration of balance.

Unfortunately things do not go like that in fact. The World Economic Outlook, which the International Monetary Fund has just published, gives the lie to

But what if both patience and confidence fail?

the assertion that the seven countries work successfully together in economic policies.

The restoration in 1988 of the protractedly disturbed balance in trade and capital transactions of the major industrialised countries, the USA, Japan and West Germany, was introduced through minute adjustments.

This report said that these would come to a halt in 1989. The author wrote that the reduction of the US trade deficit, which was observed during last year, would go into reverse this year and next.

This is due to the strong American dollar, which puts American exports at a disadvantage.

The American trade balance, which reflects American trade in goods and services, dropped from \$154bn in 1987 to \$135bn last year and will slightly increase to \$139bn this year.

It will be still larger in 1990, if economic policies are not so changed that the dollar weakens.

In this report it is predicted that Japan will show a dramatic increase in its trade surplus — from \$80bn in 1988 to \$94bn in 1990.

It is predicted that the Federal Republic will show a limited increase in its trade surplus, but no less serious for that.

The writer of the report warned economic policy-makers in the industrialised countries that they risk bringing instability to financial markets by doing nothing.

If this is the result of this international

Any almost all important Japanese banks belong to one or other of six industrial financial-services groups comprising industrial firms, group houses, and various types of banks, securities houses which, Munich insurance authority Max Eli thinks have Japan by the short and curlies.

The Mitsubishi group, for example, has a combined staff of half a million. The groups are not organised as light as a single firm, but they are organised on a stable business basis.

In the stocks and shares section Japan, securities and credit business, theoretically in any case, as in America: strictly separate) the difference between the leading American Japanese firms has become even more extreme since Black Monday, the crash in October of 1987.

And when the managers of the "Tigers" of the securities business, Nomura, Daiwa, Nikko and Yamada give the thumbs down, then capital market rates in America climb steeply. In the end, it is the Japanese deal, in securities which finances a big of the American deficit.

Yet, if you look more closely, these big institutes are not quite as powerful as they are often presented. The big volume of business can in part be down to a unique feature: overseas are extremely unusual in Japan. Instead, firms borrow large amounts of money and place what they don't immediately need into a deposit account.

Wolfgang Hühne, of the Bayrische Landesbank in Tokyo estimates a rate of excess, calculated to a fourth. Continued on page 7

■ TRADE

In spite of reports, Gatt is not yet dead — it's just not feeling very well

Paraphrasing Nietzsche, who said "God is dead," Lester C. Thurow, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said "Gatt is dead."

Thurow made this judgement on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at the World Economic Forum 1989 in Davos, Switzerland.

Since the collapse in December 1988 of the meeting in Montreal of ministers and delegates from 100 countries, trying to find new rules and liberties for world trade, nothing much has happened.

Thurow said that Gatt had failed and should be dissolved as quickly as possible.

The Gatt aim of making international trade fair, open and following the sacred principle of multilateralism, has been unsuccessful.

The triumvirate of the USA, Japan and the European Community will continue to dominate trade until well into the 21st century. According to Thurow the small people can only group themselves around them.

Current attempts at resuscitating Gatt have not been made easier by the revolt of the small people, raging behind the scenes in the Gatt secretariat in Geneva against the omnipresent dominance of the giants, the USA and the EC.

At the half-time conference within the context of the Uruguay Round



(brought into being at the Punta del Este in 1986), it has been possible to reach agreement on 12 points out of 16, but the remaining four are tough nuts to crack. They are agricultural policies, protection of copyright and patents, textiles and let-out clauses.

If the experts cannot achieve any workable compromises in their three-day conference as basics for the second-half of the Round, which ends in 1992, then there is the threat that the entire Round will fall apart and a trade war will break out to an extent unknown before.

Bernhard Zepter, deputy leader of the Federal Republic delegation to the Uruguay Round, said: "The solution of the agricultural problem then plays a key role for the success of the Uruguay Round."

Zepter firmly believes that neither the USA nor the EC are prepared to accept responsibility for the possible collapse of the negotiations through rigid insistence on their demands.

A compromise was found in Montreal for the major stumbling block of agricultural policy, through the good will of all those participating, after such

controversial matters as regulations for service industries involving trade, consolidating Gatt institutions, conciliation proceedings and reducing customs duties were more or less pushed aside.

Because of its agricultural policies the EC faces extensive opposition, made up of the USA and the Cairns group of 14 food-exporting countries, which have declared war on the EC's subsidy policies as distorting competition.

EC opponents regard as a thorn in the side common customs tariffs, agricultural levies, export subsidies and price and volume controls.

Since the beginning of the 1980s the subsidies level has increased from 30 to 40 per cent, although the EC believes it has done pioneering work with limited price increases, penalties for over-production (the levy on milk) and policies for letting arable land lie fallow.

In the run-up to the Geneva round of talks the EC has called for a freeze on subsidies and their reduction in the long-term.

The USA and the Cairns group insist on more. They want upper limits for customs levies and subsidies and guarantees involving access to markets.

It is obvious that the European-American trade war about hormone-treated beef has soured the negotiating climate.

Arthur Dunkel, Gatt secretary-general, may have made the breakthrough to a compromise possible.

He has come up with the formula: with regard to agricultural subsidies the contracting parties should strive "to agree to a substantial, progressive reduction over a period of time."

This clears away the half-hearted EC proposals, which only vaguely called for a mutual, long-term reduction of agricultural subsidies.

On the other hand the counter-demand for an immediate reduction of subsidies would be a blow at the very foundations of the Community. Brussels could not abolish agricultural protectionism as a vital element in the treaties over night.

The EC's difficulties with Gatt show that the internal regulations of an economic bloc easily come into conflict with the pure theory of free world trade, and make the Gatt philosophy of striving for multilateral systems seem reasonable.

If internal EC agreements keep other countries out of the European market, there will be justification in regarding the Community as being an economic and trade fortress when the single European market is in place after 1992.

The Federal Republic, then, finds itself in a particular dilemma. On the one hand the government wants to protect agricultural interests; and agriculture has been badly knocked about, but in no way does Bonn want to foil the Uruguay Round.

The Federal Republic achieves a third of its gross national product from exports, and half of these exports are sent to EC partner countries.

Bonn has been looking for the conclusive position to take up in any number of inter-departmental talks over the past few weeks.

In the middle of these deliberations, which have to take into consideration the foreign policy dimension with the

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Japan's banks

Continued from page 6

according to factors such as liquidity and reputation, amounts to between 12 and 30 per cent.

This system, for the banks, makes up for the low interest rates and, in addition, makes the balance sheet look better. Another insight: Deutsche Bank employs more than 45,000 but Dai-ichi Kangyo barely 19,000.

Above all, earnings capacity from day-to-day business in relation to volume is substantially lower than in Germany. Comparison, however, is difficult because of the far greater opportunities in Germany of disguising profits.

In the case, for example, of loans to Latin America, where Japanese banks have lent a total of equivalent to 45 billion dollars, the maximum amount they are able to write off as bad debts and so gain fiscal compensation amounts to a mere 10 per cent whereas one of the large German banks is able to gain the tax advantages in respect of up to 75 per cent of loan funds written-off.

Then there is the fence which has sheltered Japanese money houses from competition from each other. Under American pressure, this is being breached more often, with the resultant tendency of depressing earnings in that area of greatest activity, domestic business. But there are still some almost scurrilous restrictive practices remaining. On Sundays, not only the counters but also the cash-dispensing machines are closed, so that any single bank which can afford to install more cash machines than another does not pick up the extra business.

However, the pressure of the many state regulations is noticeably declining. This step-by-step liberalisation could even leave its impression on one of the big foundation stones not only of Japanese banking but of commerce in general — the huge amount of savings. Up until now it has been frowned on for private people to accept or give credit. Our interpreter told us how, when he went to withdraw money from his savings account, he was asked why he wanted the cash. The somewhat colder winds of competition are now obviously forcing banks to offer consumer credit.

One hope that both American and European banks did have appear supremely unlikely to come to fruition and that is that the joint "recommendation" issued by the most important central banks over terms of capital provision is, clearly, certainly far from putting the breaks on the expansion of Japanese financial institutions.

In any case, the latter have, at least up until the present time, been able to avail themselves, and at terms which are manifestly so advantageous in view of the optimistic character of pertaining expectations, and consequently with ubiquity, of an imminent accretion in thresholds that access to credit sources has been less in the manner of problematic than might, under all circumstances, have been wished by the other parties.

And, remarks a German banker in Tokyo, while in Germany it can be expected that economic wherewithal may have a decline rate closely devolved to deflation in the region of between eight and nine per cent, in Japan, the self-same set of appurtenant conditions would be deployed at the rate of approximately half of one per cent.

To all appearances, then, a more important reason for the power of the Japanese bank than the much vaunted industry of the employee. Gerd Zitzelsberger (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 April 1989)

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(Die Welt, Bonn, 6 April 1989)

MONEY

Warning notes
- these are
harder to forgeNÜRNBERGER
Nachrichten

German banknotes have been redesigned. The new notes, which are intended to give greater protection from forgers, will start coming into circulation next year.

The number of men and the number of women featuring on the notes is the same but, as the head of the Bundesbank, Karl Otto Pöhl dryly observed, the value of the notes featuring men's faces is greater.

Nuremberg, represented on several of the old notes by Albrecht Dürer portraits, is still to be seen depicted on the new notes.

The future notes have been worked out with typical German thoroughness. Three historians looked at various personalities in German history as possible candidates to adorn the new notes.

These experts had to bear in mind equal representation between the Churches as well as regional origins.

They also had to take care that the various areas of the arts and sciences were honoured in equal measure.

Nuremberg, whose striking city silhouette with the Castle in the background, adorns the 500-deutschmark note, which also includes the painter and natural scientist Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), famous for her drawings of insects.

She was the scholarly and gifted daughter of Mathäus Merian, copper-plate engraver. She was not born in Nuremberg but she did work for five years within the city's walls.

Poetess Bettina von Armin (1785-1859), sister of poet-novelist Clemens Brentano, appears on the greenish-yellow five-deutschmark note. She is famous for an exchange of letters with Goethe.

The mathematician and astronomer Carl Friedrich Gauss (1777-1855), founder of the Magnetic Association, appears on the blue-violet ten-deutschmark note. His name, gauss, has been given to a unit of magnetic flux density.

The poetess Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848) is to be seen on the green 20-deutschmark note.

The new olive-brown 50-deutschmark



Yesterday's faces, tomorrow's money.

(Photos: AP)

note bears the portrait of the baroque masterbuilder Balthasar Neumann (1687-1753), one of whose most famous works is the prince-bishop's palace at Würzburg.

Clara Schumann (1819-1896), wife of Robert, a concert pianist and composer in her own right, can be seen on the red-brown 100-mark note.

Scientist Paul Ehrlich (1853-1915), who discovered Salvarsan, a remedy used in the cure of syphilis, appears on the new orange 200-mark note.

The 1,000-mark note carries the portraits of the Brothers Grimm of fairy-tale fame, Jakob Ludwig (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Karl (1786-1859).

There are then eight new notes of which four are adorned with portraits of women.

From a value point of view the men come out better than the women — the note of the highest denomination displays the Brothers Grimm, "a touch of chauvinism," as Bundesbank head Karl Otto Pöhl put it with gentle irony.

Pöhl had no jokes to make when it came to dealing with questions of the handwork of the forger.

In dealing with this matter he drew a comparison with the arms race. He said that as soon as a new attack weapon was developed a means of defence was worked out to neutralise it.

The notes include, for instance, a secur-

ity thread of aluminium in the paper of the banknote, which only has a silver shine in genuine notes: in forgeries it would appear black.

The notes also have small markings on both sides of the note which, when held up to the light, appear as the letter "D".

To get this exact effect both sides of the paper the notes have to be printed on both sides simultaneously. Until now only the precision printing presses used by the Federal Printer have been capable of doing this.

No-one needs to worry that there will be a deadline, after which date the old notes will be just so much wastepaper.

The Bundesbank has set no time limit for exchanging old notes for the new ones. No-one will be obliged to go rushing around looking for notes; if years later, notes are discovered, for example, in a secret drawer or under the mattress, they can still be exchanged.

It costs 27 pfennigs to produce each note. There are 1.6 billion of them in circulation. To replace them all will cost more than DM420m.

Is this worth it when the talking point in the European Community is currently that national currencies should be replaced soon by the Ecu for routine payment transactions?

(Nürnberg Nachrichten, 19 April 1989)

Gatt's problems

Continued from page 7

USA. Washington burst in with demands that Bonn's subsidies for the Airbus must be negotiated in Gatt at Geneva.

The Americans will not accept the Federal Republic's change of course, regards subsidies, which assured Dier-Benz's take-over of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB).

Indeed the EC Commission has proved this subsidy, but in the American view this contravenes Gatt regulations. After this enormous problem, other three Gatt matters seem to be, by the way.

The bad habit of pirating patents and copyrights should be put a stop to in talks on "trade-relevant rights for protection of copyright."

This has been mainly demanded by western industrialised nations. I want comparable worldwide protection.

They argue that protection of copyright is a fundamental of free competition. Anyone who wants free international trade must keep to protection regulations.

The developing countries see this as damaging their chances in the world place. They accuse the industrialised nations of using this device to make more difficult to get at new technology.

They have rejected the industrialised nations' demands for a Gatt protection, and point to the United Nations bodies which are responsible for rights, patents and trade marks.

The industrialised nations must accept that the statutes of these bodies are of loopholes.

A compromise is necessary in the question of textiles as well. The developing countries are demanding that in course of the Uruguay Round the international textiles agreement should be brought to an end, which in fact regulates the textiles market as regards prices and quantities to the benefit of the industrialised nations.

Although the western states are under pressure from their domestic lobbies, have indicated internally they are prepared to aim for the discontinuation of multi-synthetic agreement in phases.

Before the beginning of these discussions, Arthur Dunkel called up all sides not to bring everything down to petty quibbling.

There are still two years left to be down an all-embracing new world trade agreement. Gatt is not dead, yet the agony cannot be ignored.

Rainer Burchard

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 7 April 1989)

SPACE RESEARCH

A birthday party to mark
Esa's run of successes

A special function was held in Paris this month to mark the 25th anniversary of the European Space Agency, Esa.

Esa emerged from the European Space Research Organisation, Esro, which began in 1964.

Over the past 25 years, European cooperation in space research has had many setbacks, but these have been more than offset by the successes.

Today, the Europeans have caught up with the big powers of space research, the USA and the Soviet Union, in many sectors.

When the idea of space technology cooperation first began to take shape in Europe at the beginning of the sixties the two superpowers had already successfully taken major steps into space.

The European nations realised that only their combined effort would be able to prevent the USA and the Soviet Union from extending their lead in space technology.

The decision was taken in 1962 to set up two organisations, Esro and Eldo (European Organisation for the Development and Construction of Space Launcher Vehicles), in order to develop a European space launcher vehicle system.

Esro, which initially comprised ten member states (Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, France, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain), began work in 1964 and concentrated on the development of satellites.

Whereas this effort was already rewarded by the launching of the first European satellite Esro II in 1968 the development of a European carrier rocket.

One of the main reasons for the lack

of success was the fact that three countries (the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Britain) were given responsibility for one section of the rocket respectively.

This led to coordination difficulties. None of the 11 launchings of the rocket types Europe 1 and Europe 2 achieved their objectives.

Esro, on the other hand, developed a successful programme for the investigation of perigean space with the help of altitude research rockets.

By 1972 it had sent seven satellites (with the help of American carriers) into orbit, although only one of which was unable to begin operations.

On 1 April, 1974, the staff of the in the meantime dissolved Eldo joined forces with Esro staff to form a new organisation, Esa.

Esa declared the development of a European carrier rocket to be one of its major objectives.

It was French single-mindedness which finally led to the start of the Ariane project.

The Federal Republic of Germany, especially its then Research Minister, Klaus von Dohnanyi, was initially opposed to the project, favouring cooperation with the USA instead.

This explains why France accepted the lion's share of financing the Ariane (roughly 50 per cent), whereas the Federal Republic of Germany only accepted a 20 per cent share after a longer period of reluctance.

Correspondingly, German industry's involvement in the developmental project led by Esa was much less pronounced than that of French industry.

The first Ariane rocket was launched from the Kourou Space Centre in the French overseas department of French Guiana.

This space "station" had already been set up by the French space authority Cnes in the 1960s.

Following nine test flights under Esa supervision, two of which ended with

failures, the Ariane programme moved into its operational phase.

An independent company, Ariance-space, was founded for the marketing of the carrier rocket.

Aerospace firms and banks from all Esa member countries have stakes in this company.

Ariane 1 was followed by more and more powerful versions of the Euro-rocket.

Ariane 4 can put satellites with weighing up to 4.2 tons into a geostationary transfer orbit (at an altitude of 250 kilometres).

Thanks to this variable Ariane 4 fleet — which can be launched in six different versions with payloads of between 1.9 and 4.2 tons — the Europeans are now market leaders in the field of commercial satellite launching (with a share of approx. 70 per cent), especially since the US space shuttle was withdrawn from this market.

During a conference in The Hague in November 1987 Esa adopted its programme for the 1990s.

The key areas will be the development of a new and even more powerful carrier rocket, the Ariane 5, participation in the international space station with the Columbus programme, and the construction of a small European space shuttle (Hermes).

Europe's independent manned space travel began with Spacelab, which was launched on several missions with the US Shuttle following its maiden flight in 1983.

The period up until the major space station which it is hoped will be ready for operation in the mid-1990s will be bridged with further Spacelab flights and unmanned platform, for example, the re-usable payload carrier Eutelsat.

A further key area of Esa activities have been the scientific satellites and probes used for various fields of astronomy and for research into the solar system.

The climax was probably the "Giotto" probe launched in 1985, Europe's contribution to the international campaign to examine Halley's Comet.

In the field of telecommunications the Europeans operate a host of various satellite systems, which enable the exchange of broadcasts, pictures or data between member states as well as worldwide.

Ludwig Kürten

(Die Welt, Bonn, 19 April 1989)

Orbiting in the
interests of
the brewers' art

Bonn Research Minister, Heinz Riesenhuber, announced in Bonn this month that the D-2 mission is to begin in 1991.

Riesenhuber said Europe's successful move into space is the result of many years of excellent cooperation.

Germany had made substantial contributions along the way. The main contributions had been in the development and use of the space laboratory, Spacelab.

Experimental scientific programmes began with the first German Spacelab mission D-1 in 1985.

It is hoped that the D-2 mission will continue these programmes in 1991 with an eye to the future participation of "Columbus-2" in the US space station "Freedom-2"; total costs DM9bn.

The project will cost the Federal Republic of Germany about DM750m.

The implementation of the mission will account for DM550m, the scientific laboratories for DM200m.

Of the seven members of the flight crew Nasa will appoint the commander, the pilot and three mission specialists.

The two German scientific astronauts will be selected from five candidates, including two women, who have been in basic training since 1988 and will be chosen this year.

On board Spacelab the scientists will be conducting basic research, in particular research on conditions of weightlessness.

As Riesenhuber explained: "Our aim is to understand mechanisms. We are not yet on the verge of production."

After nine days of research in space the space shuttle will bring the research laboratory back to the earth.

A total of 84 projects will be carried out: apart from on weightlessness, on human physiology, process engineering, bio-, material and robot research.

Among other things a well-known brewery from Bremen will be researching in space in the interests of producing better beer.

Riesenhuber described plans to observe the process of yeast fermentation under conditions of weightlessness in order to improve the brewing process back on earth.

Twenty-seven German universities with 36 institutes, three major research institutions and nine industrial companies will participate in the project.

As in the case of the other 15 industrial research projects the brewery experiment will be financed by industry.

Industry will not contribute towards the DM780m total costs.

In addition, the University of Bremen and the Technical University of Berlin will take advantage of the flight to release two small satellites.

The meteorologist Dr Renate Brünner, the doctor Heineke Walpot and the physicist Haas W. Schlegel, Dr Gerhard Thiele and Dr Ulrich Walter are hoping to be picked for the mission.

Asked whether the first female German astronaut would be launched into space in 1991 Riesenhuber emphasised that the choice will be based on specialist abilities alone.

He admitted, however, that he "cannot completely conceal his personal support" for the flight of a lady astronaut.

Irmgard Wagner

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 14 April 1989)

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Reaching for the stars: four
major long-term projects

contribution to the Nasa programme. The satellite, 13 metres long, 4.25 metres wide and weighing 11.2 tons, will be launched with a space shuttle in 1989.

• Ulysses. The international solar probe Ulysses is designed to measure the varied and in part still not understood activities close to the Sun.

For the first time a satellite will fly over the poles of our daytime star.

The satellite is equipped with eleven experiments elaborated by leading scientific institutes in the USA, Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The only 370-kilogram instrument platform is scheduled for launching with the space shuttle in 1990.

A power unit will boost the probe into an interplanetary orbit, and it will pass Jupiter after 14 months.

Jupiter's gravitational field will accelerate the probe for the continued

flight to the polar orbit, which will take it around the Sun at a height of 300 million kilometres.

• ISO. The "Infrared Space Observatory" (ISO) is designed to enable astrophysicists to observe all celestial objects whose wavelength lies within the electromagnetic spectrum.

The proposals for the experiments on board have been forwarded by scientists from many countries.

The biggest technical problem is how to cool down the instruments to a temperature of a few degrees below zero, in order to keep away the background radiation.

The satellite, therefore, will resemble a giant thermos flask, filled with 2,300 litres of liquid helium.

The launching of the 5.3-metre satellite weighing 2.4 tons with the help of an Ariane rocket is planned for 1993.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 19 April 1989)

■ LITERATURE

Looking for a corner of a Euro market

The single European market is just round the corner, and the German Booksellers' Association knows there will be changes.

It held a meeting to talk about the consequences, opportunities and risks. In one sense the book trade already benefits from a single European market.

The Association issued a special edition of its trade journal in which a British Bookseller's Association spokesman is quoted as having said: "Books about the effects of harmonisation in the Common Market are more and more in demand."

Certainly it will be cheaper to transport books in a Europe without frontiers. With satisfaction one hears in Bonn that the book trade will retain its privilege of reduced value-added tax (VAT), whether the books are instructional or just for amusement. But, horrible thought, that does not seem to be a matter of course.

The book trade will cautiously consider what profit margins harmonisation of VAT in Europe will open up.

In an interview with the book trade publication Bonn MP Rheinhold Kreile said the European Community Commission will lay down a VAT rate of between four and nine per cent. If, however, the rate of seven per cent in the Federal Republic were retained, but in Italy, for instance, only a four-per-cent rate were applied it would be cheaper to distribute books from there.

The decisive question is, naturally, who will benefit?

Publishers who in future set up abroad, because there wages are lower? Or the mail-order trade which, it is assumed, will expand with the single European market?

Or will this benefit booksellers because they can get hold of foreign books faster and at cheaper prices?

Would a single European market be of benefit to readers? That would be almost too good to be true.

In an interview with the West German booksellers' trade publication, EC Commissioner Martin Bangemann said: "If I order a French or English book in Germany the procedure is such that it is cheaper and faster in Marco Polo's times."

No-one should have any illusions, however. Even when Europe is a single economic unit Europe's cultural identity will for a long while remain utopian and reading will remain linked to its old linguistic frontiers.

Volker Schwarz of the Nomos publishing house is also doubtful that with a single market in Europe the readiness will automatically develop to read books in the original language.

A different attitude to language and reading would have to develop, and it cannot be expected that changes of that sort will come about swiftly.

Books are not the same kind of merchandise as cars, underpants or toothpaste. The book trade has for years lived by the credo: "Books are different."

The trade is proud of the fact that it does not sell normal goods but retails "an article of culture." The trade knows that more competition in the book trade

would do more harm to it, and as a consequence the reader, than would be good for it.

For this reason there has been in Bonn much singing of the praises of the book trade's fixed-price practice. The argument is that good selling titles help finance more sophisticated literature.

Books which appeal to minorities only get a chance of being published, and published at reasonable prices, by keeping the shop price of mass-sale publications at a relatively high level.

Furthermore price fixing ensures that retailers can survive as well as small to medium-sized publishing houses.

Dieter Wallenfels, responsible for fixed-price affairs in the Booksellers' Association, foresees what would happen "when they are sacrificed on the altar for the removal of restraints of competition."

The large publishing empires and chains would develop here as in the United States, he said. "We have seen what happened in the foodstuffs retail trade and the sound-reproduction business, when in the end ten dealers handle 50 per cent of sales."

But it must make every reader uneasy that in almost every EC country books are protected by fixed-price arrangements — except for Greece and the Flemish part of Belgium.

But almost paradoxically the book trade is being threatened by bookshop chains and publishing empires which are standing at the ready to sprint into action in the European Community.

Mr Dillon, head of the British Booksellers' Association, was formerly associated with a university bookshop. He has bought up 50 bookshops named Pentos. A few weeks ago Pentos issued the challenge that this year it would sell 30 best-sellers 20 per cent cheaper than the publisher's marked price.

The trend to form book empires continues in the Federal Republic and one must be very watchful to see whether these bookshop chains are increasingly investing in other European countries.

They are certain to be looking for gaps in European legislation to get round the fixed-price arrangement for

books. Wallenfels said that one way round this was the "re-import" procedure.

Books are exported from one EC country to another and then instantly re-imported at discount prices.

The legal trick is that according to present European legislation fixed prices for books are permissible at a national level, but cross-frontier competition cannot be hampered.

What to do? The book trade is considering whether it should not apply to the EC Commission in Brussels for a Europe-wide regulation.

That could be a dangerous game for there are among the EC commissioners some who are fanatics for competition, for whom any kind of price-fixing is the work of the devil.

The alternative would be to wait and to risk that some bookseller can bring a decision from the European Court of Justice.

It is hard to say what would be the outcome of such a test case. But it is disturbing that former European judge Ulrich Everling recalled in this connection that "only prayers help on the high seas and before the court."

Irene Meichner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 April 1989)

Albert Thelen, a puzzle that did not want to be solved

Albert Vigoleis Thelen, one of the most remarkable writers in post-war German literature, has died at Dülken, not far from Krefeld, aged 85.

He was born on 23 September 1903 in Süchteln, the next town along from Dülken. As a writer he was praised by the critics and compared with Swift and Cervantes, but he remained unknown, never achieving success. His name is only known to connoisseurs of literature.

This did not bother him, for he wrote for his wife and for the drawer in his desk, "because he was frightened before a blank sheet of paper."

He was tyrannical with himself and compared his place in German literature to the statue of the little boy urinating in Brussels, the *Mannekin-Pis*, "he would only be spoken about if he were no longer there."

Anyone who met him was fascinated by his personality. He was a greater talker and came into his own when he was talking.

As a raconteur his stories were labyrinthine, even orgiastic: he was baroque in his manner of expression. He regularly created words, just because he wanted to write about the world afresh.

He had an incurable longing to be two, as he was and the more radical side of his nature.

He was a gentle man, who protected himself with joking and charades, internally he was an anarchist with a tendency to be a libertine, but for whom order was vital.

If ever he had to go anywhere alone, he would certainly get in the wrong train.

When he went anywhere in the dark he constantly wore a white Basque beret "so the cars would not run me down."

Thelen was a puzzle which did not want to be solved. He was not happy. He was not gifted for happiness: because of this the chilling concept of the "egg timer poems," described in this way because they are five minutes long.

They deal with the role of the potato in culture, or other fundamental problems or even from apparent trivialities.

Thelen made his poetic debut in 1953, when he was 50, with *Insel des zweiten Gesichts*, originally a work of 1,300 pages, but which was finally cut by a third.

It was not a first work, rather an experience. It was a picaresque novel of frivolous frankness, with maidens, hidalgos, smugglers, the author and his spouse, neither in minor roles.

The action takes place in Mallorca. It is not an autobiography in the usually accepted sense of that term, rather a cheerful expression of knowledge of what mankind is capable of.

It was "applied recollections," to quote the sub-title of the book, confused, insane, but above all a prolific expression of his fantasy.

He was awarded the Fontane Prize for this work in 1954.

Thelen was as he appeared in this book: a humanist from conviction, a melancholic with that humour which is only suitable to serious people, embroiled in the confusion of politics, presenting resistance in the spirit of Diogenes.

Vigoleis-Thelen and his wife, Beatrice, lived from 1931 in the Balearic Islands, foreseeing the catastrophe when Hitler became chancellor.

The following years were turbulent, years in which he earned a living as a tourist guide and the Falangists wanted to shoot him.



Baroque expression... the late Albert Thelen. (Photo: Brigitte Forst)

Those days were unforgettable. Thelens hid Jews and helped them forge passports so they could escape.

The Gestapo got on their tracks, mainly because of the anti-Nazi circles he published under the pseudonym Leopold Frabrizius in Dutch newspapers. Investigations were made into the man married couple on the spot and were able to save themselves by speaking French or Spanish to one another. Then in 1936 they were aboard a British steamer bound for the seilles.

From there they went to Ticino where the Swiss police declared him persona grata.

This was the beginning of a "fourth soul," an Odyssey through half of Europe, always with the fear they would be deported.

Eventually he was given protection by the Portuguese mystic Teixeira de Faria, whose works Thelen translated. Thelen and his wife were hidden away in a castle.

Everything that happened in this way was to become the second part of his That was the plan, but Thelen, out of gratitude to his host, and so as not to upset people, declined to have the work published.

In 1947 the Salazar regime in Lisbon suspected Thelen of being a communist and had him deported.

For the last 20 years he lived on the side Lausanne. In 1956 his novel *Der schwarze Herr Bahussenp* was published as an epic of digressions and excesses.

The meeting between an unemployed writer and a rich academic from the who, according to the speculations of the author, is probably no professor, but a crafty citizen, a well-disguised agent up to *Insel* it is a classic and without doubt a treasure.

During his lifetime the wildest rumors made the rounds about Thelen, the inspired raconteur. It was said he ended insane, buried behind the walls of an Italian monastery. These legends always evoked him to say: "When the whore she becomes pious."

In his will he left his body for anatomical research, and he bequeathed his estate, which includes many unpublished manuscripts, to an establishment which trains dogs for the blind.

He hoped that one day someone would name a dog, Vigo. This was his living after death, after he wanted to die while living.

Klaus A. A.

(Nürnburger Nachrichten, 12 April 1989)

■ THE THEATRE

A collective brings Shakespeare to Bremen on a shoestring

The Shakespeare theatre company in Bremen performs in an old school building. The old playground is now the car park; a small alcove is now the box office.

The atmosphere is not all that inviting, but that deters no one. Sellout performances are not uncommon.

The anteroom to the auditorium does not hide its origins: it used to be the anteroom to the school assembly hall. People mill about here long before going into the auditorium.

Here one can talk to friends or even the actors as they sell programmes. Then the rush to the unnumbered seats. Later I recognised Achilles, who was helping an elderly lady to a seat still vacant in the third row. Cressida was chatting for a long time with an acquaintance.

Are you suspicious of such familiarities between artists and audience members? You can get to appreciate these familiarities with the company.

This is not mannered, not something sophisticated, but a well-considered attempt to create another kind of theatre, not impressive, expensive state-subsidised theatre, which keeps its heroes and actors at a distance.

It is not lightweight theatre satisfying a yearning for the trivial.

The company tries to come to terms with Shakespeare. It is a theatre which takes up the challenge of blending together the public, the actors and a mixture of plays.

The backdrop is a black curtain. On the stage is a platform with dark red markings. On the stage a round yellow carpet. That is the set for Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. Simple and impressive.

This is the arena for the swanky, underhand, fatal battle between the Greeks and the Trojans; the centre for the sole encounter of the lovers; the location for the warning voice of the clairvoyant Cassandra.

Chris Alexander's production is concise and concentrated. Man is similar to man. The heroes are interchangeable characters. Through an adroit dual casting opponents are played by the same actors.

Rainer Iwersen is at one moment the dogged intruder policeman Odysseus, then the haunched-up, vain Paris.

At one moment Renato Grünig plays the coughing cissy Menelaus and then the sturdy Antenor.

The roles of heroes can be taken on by women in the cast. The old, powerless Priam and the technocrat in armour is played by Anke Engelsmann. Cryptically Christian Dieterle plays the super-hero Achilles as a frail homosexual/bisexual dressed in leather, who asserts himself in battle only with his mafia.

He also plays the radiant, beautiful male-female Helen for whose sake the man are apparently waging the war. She is nothing more than a character projected by men.

In this marionette theatre only Troilus (played by Volker Schmidt) and Cressida (Petra Schmidt) are allowed to develop "personalities." But, they cannot fulfil themselves.

Only once do they find each other, then Troilus hands his beloved over to the Greeks. In between times there is the warning voice of Cassandra (Hille Daries).

Christa Wolf has written skilful dialogue for her that could only be picked out by a comparison with the text.

The action is more and more based in the auditorium. The warriors go into battle through the central gangway and return home from the battlefield. Ther-sites, the disgusting, poisonous dwarf (Anita Walter) uses bad language in the side aisles.

Rarely has an audience been drawn into the play as here, and not just during the performance.

The actors remain after the play and sell material about the play, hand out the overcoats from the cloakroom and talk with members of the audience.

This company was founded in 1983 by seven artists who had been working in state-subsidised theatres. By a continuous examination of Shakespeare's works they wanted to try out the methods of performance of drama linked to the traditions of folk drama.

Through Shakespeare it was hoped they would be able to learn how to develop their own drama.

In 1984 they were able to hire the Kammertheater in Bremen's Böttcherstrasse. That was a stroke of luck. Theatre-goers knew the premises in the centre of the city.

The owner was fond of the theatre, and demanded only ten per cent of the nightly take for rent and allowed the company time to pay for the heating in the first tough winter.

The ensemble made a name for itself with its productions of *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Comedy of Errors* and *Henry IV*, and with their own productions such as *Sie können ganz unbesorgt in die Zukunft schauen*, by Anke Engelsmann and Peter Kaempfe, and *Ich, ich Paula*, by Paula Becker, Paula Modersohn Becker, and *Kopfriegel* by Dagmar Papula.

The company worked to attract the public and put effort into effective advertising, making a name for itself in Bremen.

Soon this group of actors was making guest appearances all over the Federal Republic. The friends of the company helped in many ways.

When the hire contract in Böttcherstrasse expired at the end of 1987 because a new hotel was to be built there, the Bremen Senate was ready to offer support.

The Senate invested more than DM500,000 in renovating the assembly hall of the gymnasium on Bremen's Leibnizplatz to become an auditorium with seating for 350.

This was made available to the company rent free and without any additional charges. This means that now the theatre is indirectly subsidised.

The company has now developed into eight actors and actresses with a literary manager. There are ten technical assistants, most of them part-time, to help with productions.

What is their extraordinary success based upon?

Rainer Iwersen, actor, director and co-founder of the company, said: "The

most important factor has been that we are a collective." The actors, actresses, directors and literary managers decide everything together. They all earn the same, DM1,200 per month. Directors are also actors. Everyone has some additional function in the company; advertising, selling tickets or administration. This has

only worked over all the years and through many arguments by a skilful division of tasks and a meeting which takes place every week.

The company determines the lives of its members. It is usual to work for more than ten hours a day; at the beginning 14 hours were normal.

Every production is prepared over a period of six months. The directors translate and prepare the play. They then all discuss it together and rehearse for two or three months on stage.

Chris Alexander, actor and director, said: "We are now much more confident with the plays. At the beginning we put on the plays true to the text, then straying from the text became more usual."

He continued: "As actors we also became more independent. At first we had to rehearse everything, the way of playing, the approach to the audience. Now we know how to present our ideas of a character on stage."

Their programme currently includes nine new Shakespeare productions, in new translations by Chris Alexander or Rainer Iwersen. The programme also includes text collages developed in the drama workshop and plays by members of the company.

Not everything I saw impressed me quite so much as *Troilus and Cressida*. *Henry IV* is made up of three Shakespeare plays which are skilfully woven together.

The narration of the ascent of Prince Hal to the conquest-hungry King Henry is excitingly contrasted with the story of fat Falstaff and his cronies, whom Henry brutally sacrifices on his path to power.

But many of the characters remained clichéd; Henry's striving for power is more often denounced than shown for its logic.

Gags played out for effect dominate the coarse scenes. To my criticism's Rainer Iwersen said: "We have got nothing against entertainment, even if it is drastic and shrill and provocative. Our kind of character interpretations contradict conventional aesthetic standards, they do not permit any psychological concept of the character. It only appears to be light theatre."

I was impressed with the Bremen production of *A Winter's Tale*, translated and directed by Chris Alexander, with Gabrielle Blum, Anke Engelsmann and Peter Kaempfe playing the more than 30 parts in the play.

It was a bizarre, masterly production, the changes from epic narration to the dramatic were achieved with only a few props and costumes. The high point of the play's action was the sheep-shearing festival.

Nevertheless the company does give its members opportunities to try their hand as writers, and that is worthy of note.

On 18 March the Berlin Academy presented its 1989 Sponsorship Prize to the company for its contributions to the performing arts. This was recognition of the company's achievements by the old hands in the theatre.

The prize carried with it a cheque for DM10,000, which is just a drop in the ocean for the company, always in need of cash.

It is to be hoped that the praiseworthy efforts of these actors will receive the due they deserve.

Hilke Holinka
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 14 April 1989)



Three cheers for two chairs. Petra Schmidt and Dagmar Papula in *Wo ich die Welt anseh*. (Photo: Forum)

■ ENVIRONMENT EXHIBITION

No muesli or bio fruit on show but plenty of polluted Rhine water

Most Germans have only seen salmon in the deep-freeze, marinated, smoked, heatsealed in plastic or pleasantly garnished as a delicacy in the more expensive restaurants.

The fish no longer feels at home in the big Central European rivers. The water is too warm, too dirty and too toxic.

The last time a salmon was fished out of the Rhine, for example, was around 1950.

During the environment exhibition "Envitec '89 - Technology for Environmental Protection" in Düsseldorf, on the Rhine, the salmon celebrated a comeback - albeit in a 600-litre aquarium constructed especially for the exhibition.

At this specialist environmental exhibition, the biggest international exhibition of its kind, there was no muesli or bio-fruit.

Almost 750 exhibitors showed the professional public technical means of solving the problem of environmental pollution.

One of the key areas this year was the purification of contaminated soil.

Industry has realised that there is plenty of money to be made in the business of dirt disposal.

Reliable estimates put the costs of removing waste in the Federal Republic of Germany at up to DM50bn.

It was the city of Rotterdam, with its stand in the Information Centre accessible to the general public in Hall 2, which came up with the idea of the aquarium.

The Dutch port at the mouth of the Rhine hopes that its salmon campaign will draw attention to the enormous environmental problems facing this city.

At first glance many exhibition visitors mistook the two-year-old and roughly 30-centimetre fish for fat trout.

After discovering their mistake they were confronted by some alarming facts and figures.

Every year the Rhine deposits ten million cubic metres of sludge in Rotterdam's harbour basin. This sludge, which has to be dredged, is contaminated with all kind of pollutants.

As regards its heavy metal content alone it contains 1,900 tons of zinc, 410 tons of lead, 270 tons of copper, 23 tons of cadmium and 5.6 tons of mercury.

The Rhine washes a further ten million cubic metres of toxic sludge into the North Sea - year in, year out.

Rotterdam would like to see salmon return to the Rhine. If the city's Environment Senator, Georg Müller, has his way this goal will be achieved by the year 2002.

He calls for a reduction of pollutant discharge by between 70 and 90 per cent by that time.

The Dutch have chosen this deadline because their special effluent disposal

area, an area in the North Sea sealed off by huge dykes and with a capacity of 150 million cubic metres of sludge, will be full to the brim by that time.

Rotterdam's officials feel that the countries bordering on the Rhine have not done enough so far to solve the problem.

The international Rhine Action Plan envisages a 50 per cent reduction of pollutant discharges, but only by 1995.

The Dutch are also critical of Bonn's environmental policy. Playing on the saying "Action speaks louder than words," Müller said: "Only when salmon, which needs clean water, again start to spawn in the Rhine will we know that action has been taken."

The Dutch are closely following experiments by the North Rhine-Westphalian Fisheries Institute to reintroduce salmon to the upper reaches of a number of Rhine tributaries, for example, the Sieg.

If the Rhine is not cleaned up properly releasing young salmon be their death sentence.

Millions of people also obtain their drinking water from the river.

Mattieu Heinen, environment specialist in the Rotterdam port complex, is convinced that a "different strategy" is needed to improve the situation. There is no point starting "at the end of the pipeline," he said.

In other words: the authorities must clamp down on the dischargers, especially the big chemical firms, along the entire river.

Production should be converted to ecologically harmless techniques which do not produce problematic waste; or only waste which can be harmlessly recycled.

The underlying motto must be: preventive environmental protection instead of just repairing environmental damage.

There is a long way to go before all this can be achieved - especially in Germany.

Environment Senator Müller says: "We at the gateway to the North Sea are simply sceptical."

This explains the warning issued by the Dutch during the exhibition. They intend turning to the courts if they are unable by 1991 "to agree with the dischargers in all countries bordering on the Rhine, including Holland, on the reduction of pollution."

In 1987 Rotterdam was on the verge of suing firms known to discharge particularly large quantities of pollutants into the Rhine for damages.

The fact that they refrained from this move was partly due to a change of heart in the Chemical Industry Association (VCI) in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For many years the VCI and its affiliated firms had refused to discuss this problem with the Dutch.

In the meantime, talks have begun with all but one of the 34 companies accused by Rotterdam of discharging pollutants; 27 of these are German companies.

The environmental exports of the biggest European port are not certain whether this willingness to talk is just a

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Task becoming more complex

The business of protecting the environment against the excesses of the industrial society is becoming more and more complex.

The environment exhibition "Envitec '89" in Düsseldorf (10-14 April) with over 700 exhibitors from 15 countries, showed what is technically feasible in the fields of air pollution, effluent treatment, noise abatement and waste disposal.

The exhibitors not only demonstrated costly flue-gas desulfurization and sludge purification technologies, but also more simply designed measures for preventive environmental protection.

Paderborn University/Polytec for example, showed the 50,000 visitors a "route calculator" able to lieve congestion on the motor and thus reduce exhaust fumes.

At the beginning of the journey motorist keys in the destination, the calculator recommends the route.

The machine evaluates traffic reports broadcast on the radio or need be, works out an alternate congestion-free route.

Before the calculator can be used everyday traffic, however, there must be a radio traffic report system improved considerably.

Other exhibitors showed how to intend putting an end to air pollution. With the help of a dry desulphurization technique, for example, it is hoped to desulphurise the fumes from small and medium-sized plants with less problems.

Recycling was a central theme of the exhibition. Whether glass, steel or metals, industry now has sophisticated systems for all these fields.

Above all, the increased use of computers enables environmental protection more effectively.

Particular interest was shown, especially by the environmentalists of the future, in a special Information Stand on the first day of the exhibition.

Visiting school classes showed keen interest in the topic "The Environment and the Environment", and the representatives of German car makers found themselves cornered by discussions.

The young listeners, for example, criticised the fact that not all new cars are fitted with catalytic converters.

The argument that competition with foreign firms makes this impossible did not convince the majority of visitors.

As announced by the Federal Association of the Glass and Mineral Industry at the exhibition, all glass receptacles sold in Germany are made out of recycled glass.

It pointed out that this is above all an achievement by the consumer who disposed of over 1.2 million bottles, glasses and jars in special containers and dustbins in 1987 corresponding figure in 1987 was 1.5 million tons.

Manufacturers are confident the share of old glass can be increased to 1.5 million tons by mid-1991.

Bonn Environment Minister, Töpfer (CDU) welcomed his colleagues at the University of Kiel are working on a completely different link between the psyche and the immunosystem.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 April 1989)

■ MEDICINE

Personality, stress and disease: going back to some Pavlovian basics



Mens sana in corpore sano (a sound mind in a sound body): this oft-quoted saying by the Roman satirist Juvenal points out the close connection between a person's physical and mental wellbeing.

The common observation that "Stress makes you feel ill" could be regarded as the reverse side of the coin.

There is increasing scientific evidence for the interaction between the psyche and the immunosystem.

Psychoneuroimmunology, a relatively young branch of science, has gathered numerous data during the past 10 to 15 years corroborating the link between a person's psychological make-up and his/her nervous, hormone and immunosystems.

An American research team was recently able to trigger allergic responses in rats through a Pavlovian reflex.

Almost 100 years ago the Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov conducted his experiment of giving dogs food to eat and letting a bell ring at the same time.

After repeating the experiment several times he discovered that ringing of the bell alone was enough to induce the dogs' flow of saliva in expectation of food. It looks as if the immunosystem works along similar lines.

American scientists injected hen egg albumen into test rats, which produced allergic reactions, and at the same time arranged an audiovisual spectacle in the form of flashes of light and the humming of a ventilator.

After repeating the experiment a few times the flashes of light and the sound of the ventilator were enough to trigger the allergic responses.

The response was recorded by analysing the mast cells, an immunocyte type which can be found in the mucous membrane of the intestines and lungs and which secretes a characteristic enzyme during allergic reactions.

A classic conditioning à la Pavlov is also possible in the case of human defensive cells.

A research team led by the psychologist Clemens Kirchbaum at the University of Trier achieved this feat using "natural killer cells", a group of cells in the body's immunosystem which normally attacks and destroys virus-infected cells which invade the body's system.

The Trier researchers gave test persons a daily injection of a relatively small dose of the hormone adrenaline, which is known to increase the activity of the natural killer cells.

At the same time the test persons were given a sherbet sweet. After a common salt solution was injected on the fifth day instead of adrenaline sucking the sweet alone sufficed to stimulate the killer cells.

Similar tests - albeit designed this time to condition immunodeficiency - had already been carried out by American scientists on rodents.

The animals were given a sweetener and at the same time a substance which weakens the immunosystem.

Following several runs of the experiment the sweetener alone was able to induce immunodeficiency.

Professor Roman Ferle and his colleagues at the University of Kiel are working on a completely different link between the psyche and the immunosystem.

They transplanted the bone marrow cells of a mouse into another mouse and thus simultaneously transferred its immunosystem, since all the cells of the blood system have their origins in bone marrow.

The most important ability of the immunosystem is to distinguish between its own cells and "foreign" cells.

During this process the surface structure on the cells, called the main histocompatibility complex, plays a crucial role.

Other researchers had previously discovered that in the case of mice this surface structure at the same time produces a characteristic body odour, males preferring the female mice because they have a different odour than their own.

The experiments in Kiel revealed that the bone marrow transplantation not only transferred the genetic and immunological identity, but also the typical odour and the preference for certain partners.

Mice therefore can literally smell the immunological identity of another mouse; the immunosystem of one animal has an effect on the brain of another.

There would also appear to be links between cancer, the immunosystem and the psyche.

Experiments on animals have shown that stress reduces the ability of certain lymphocytes to destroy cancer cells, and that artificially created tumours proliferated much faster.

The results, however, depended on the order of experiments; in some cases stress retarded tumour growth.

In a large-scale prospective study medical scientist Ronald Grossarth-Maticek from Heidelberg examined the connection between personality and the probability of getting and dying of cancer.

His findings showed that persons who are constantly selfless, try to please everybody and try not to show feelings such as depression, despair and shock are particularly "high-risk."

They try to disguise these feelings with "radiant optimism" and self-discipline.

According to Grossarth-Maticek, psychotherapy with patients suffering from incurable breast cancer can help them live longer just as effectively as chemotherapy.

Other studies indicate that anxiety, depression, feelings of guilt, hostility, in-

adequate confrontation with the reality of the disease have an adverse influence on the course of cancer illness.

Psychoimmunologist W. Klosterhalfen, however, still feels that it is not yet clear whether a definite link exists between a person's personality structure and the cancer prognosis.

Whereas in the case of cancer the immunosystem as it were "fails" to combat the body's own degenerate cells it overshoots the target in the case of autoimmune diseases by also attacking healthy cells.

Some researchers feel there is a connection between the illness and personality aspects such as depression, hypochondria and hysteria in the case of rheumatoid arthritis, although Klosterhalfen stressed that this is still highly hypothetical.

There is a much clearer link between stress and the immunosystem. Many experiments on animals have shown that stress can reduce the function of the immunosystem.

Experiments on human beings have confirmed that grief at the loss of a partner, examination stress in the case of students, depressions, deprivation of sleep, the everyday ups and downs of a person's mood, or the stress of space travel can reduce the activity or divisive ability of certain groups of immunocytes.

Today, psychoneuroimmunologists can not only prove that the psyche has effects on the immunosystem, but also have a number of ideas how this takes place.

Basically, the brain has three channels via which it can influence the activity of immune cells: the nervous system, neuropeptides and hormones.

The brain, for example, is linked with the lymphatic tissue via direct nerve connections and can probably thus interfere in the maturation and division of B- and T-cells.

These cells, also called B- and T-lymphocytes, play the decisive part in the specific immune defence system; they can identify pathogens and foreign substances with high specificity and thus fight these intruders very effectively.

Neuropeptides are messenger substances of the brain, which are generally only effective over a short distance.

The group of endorphins, for example, is a commonly known group; endogenous and pain-reducing substances which dock onto the same cell membrane receptors as opiates, for example, morphium.

Some neuropeptides are probably connected with emotions, which explains

why some scientists are convinced that emotions can influence the immunosystem by means of neuropeptides to a much greater extent than previously assumed.

Most studies so far have been carried out on the hormonal links between the brain and the immunosystem.

It has been known since the Seventies that glucocorticoids, hormones formed in the adrenal cortex and secreted to an increasing degree during stress, impede the body's own defensive mechanism.

The hormone adrenaline inhibits the production of antibodies in B-cells, acetylcholine stimulates this production.

Insulin and growth hormones would appear to stimulate greater defensive activity in B- and T-cells.

A number of sex hormones also intervene in the immunological process.

The quantity of progesterone, for example, is increased in a woman's blood during pregnancy and has a retardant effect on the body's immunosystem.

This makes sense biologically because it prevents any repulsive responses to the embryo.

The "control centre" of most hormone glands in the body is the hypothalamus, part of the diencephalon (interbrain).

Through the hypothalamus the brain can influence the hormone balance and thus regulate the immunosystem. The reverse path is also possible.

Hugo Besedovsky and his colleagues in the "Swiss Research Institute" in Davos proved this back in the Seventies.

They injected sheep's blood into rats and stimulated an immunological response which not only affected the balance of the various hormones, but also boosted the activity of some brain cells.

A particularly striking result was the two- to threefold increase in activity in a tiny section of the hypothalamus.

In further experiments the Davos researchers discovered that a certain substance was secreted by the alarmed immunocytes and detected by the brain as a signal: the Glucocorticoid Increasing Factor, GIF for short.

GIF has an effect on the cells of the hypothalamus, which in turn releases the hormone CRF (Corticotrophin Releasing Factor).

CRF for its part moves into the neighbouring pituitary gland (hypophysis) and induces the secretion of ACTH (Adrenocorticotrophic hormone).

ACTH then makes its way via the bloodstream to the suprarenal gland and promotes the secretion of glucocorticoids.

The latter, finally, retard the immunosystem, leading to a negative feedback which perhaps prevents an over-reaction by the immunosystem.

The glucocorticoids, however, may make the body's defensive activity more effective by inhibiting the majority of immunocytes but not those which are most actively combating the intruding pathogen. This feedback loop is probably no more than a fragment of the entire highly complex system.

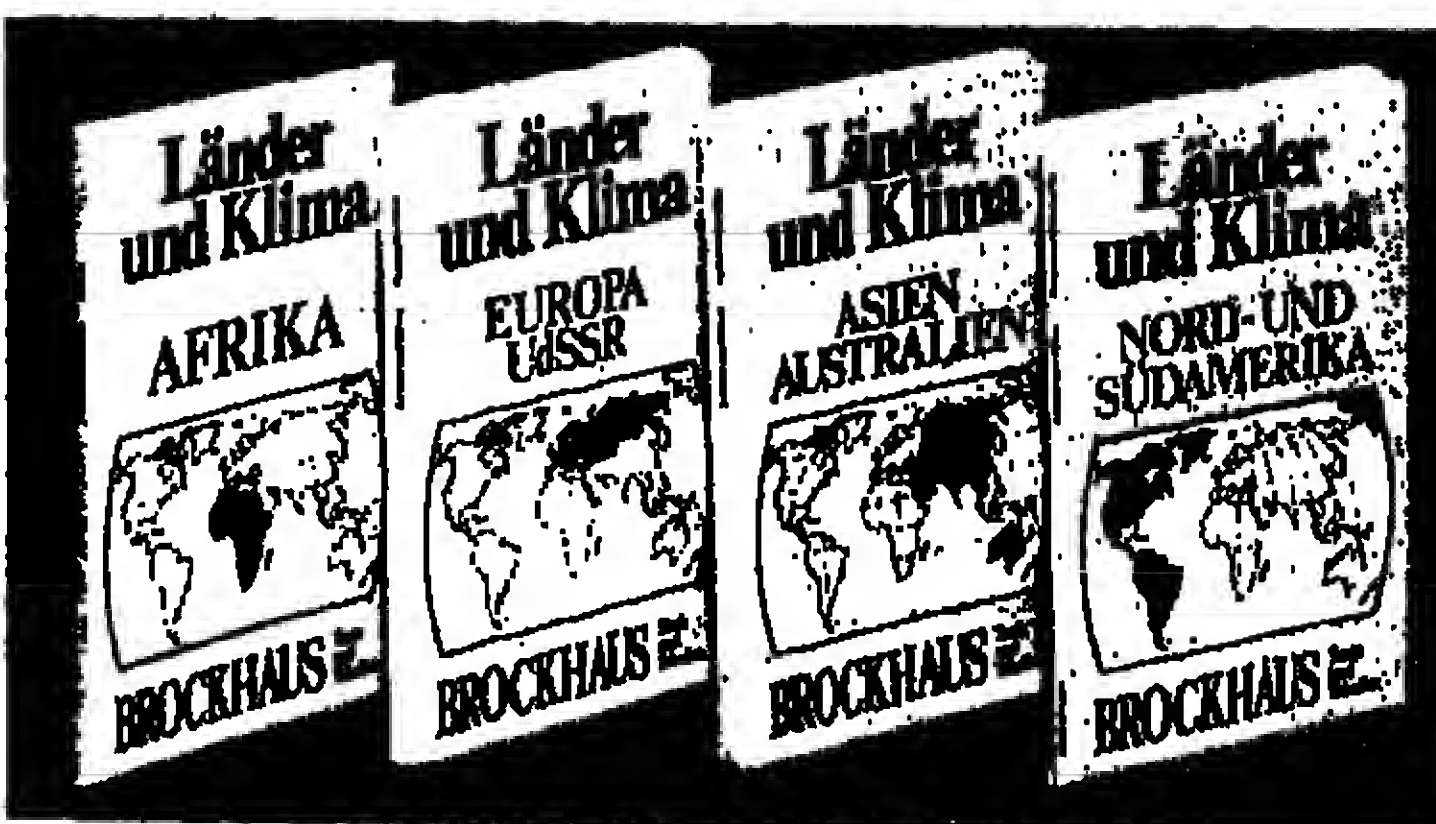
It was discovered, for example, that Interleukin-1, a substance which is normally secreted by large digestive cells in order to activate T-lymphocytes, has a similar effect to GIF.

Between the brain, the hormone system and the immunosystem a complex network of interaction apparently exists, which has so far defied the scientific penetration of researchers.

There is hope, however, that more and more will be understood about this network in future and that new forms of therapy will be developed in which the interplay between psychological and physiological approaches will be taken for granted.

Henning Engel
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 7 April 1989)

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